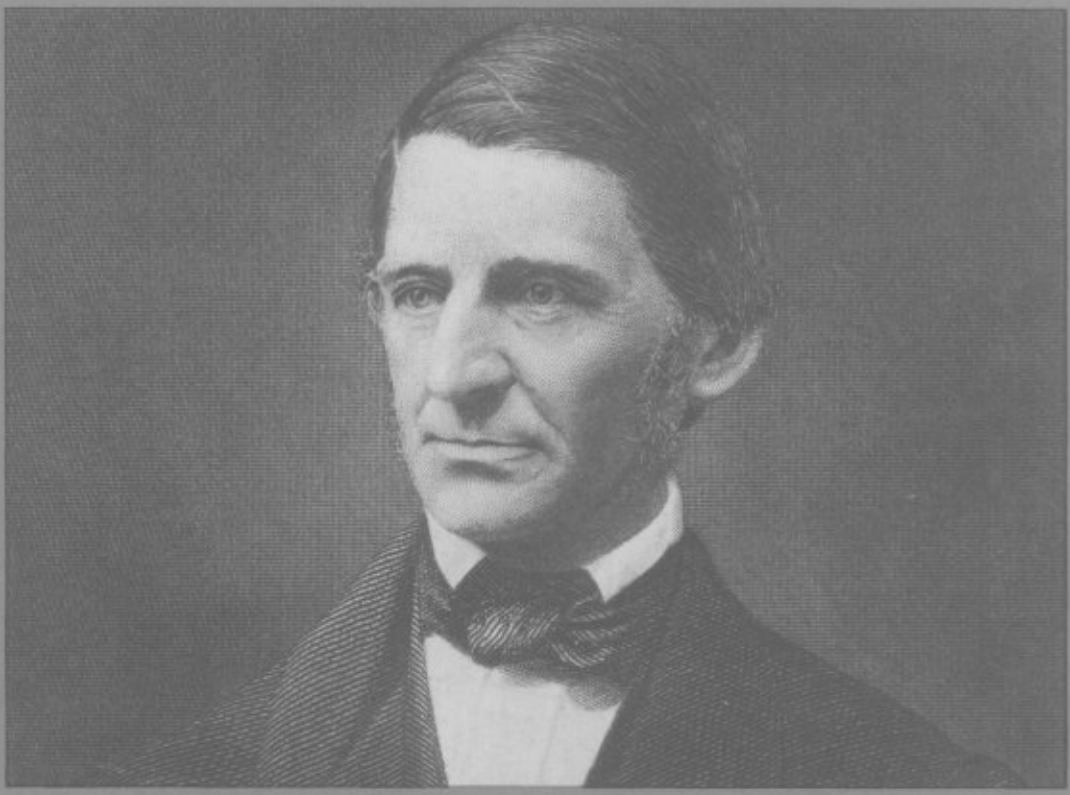
MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Vol. 65, No. 4 **Winter, 1970**

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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VOL. 65, No. 4 WINTER, 1970

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Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $5.00. Each issue $1.25. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

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Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. Second-Class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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EMERSON AND BALTIMORE: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

By George E. Bell

I

GATEWAY TO THE SOUTH

Writing in his *Journal* in 1837, Ralph Waldo Emerson noted that he had formulated definite thoughts about the Southern character as early as his college days at Harvard: "The young Southerner comes here [Harvard] a spoiled child with graceful manners, excellent self command, very good to be spoiled, but good for nothing else, a mere parader." He went on to say that the Southerner is more at home with his rifle, horse, and dog than with civil and educated society and that in such a society he could not be otherwise than dumb and discontented. To which he added: "Give them an inch & they take a mile."[1]

[1] Merrell R. Davis, Alfred R. Ferguson, William H. Gilman, Harrison Hayford, and Merton M. Sealts, Jr., eds., *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* V (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), pp. 388-389.

Not until March 12, 1822, however, did Emerson put his views in writing: "What kind of people are the Southerners in your vicinity? Have they legs & eyes? Do they walk & eat?" Adding: "You know our idea of an accomplished Southerner—to wit—as ignorant as a bear, as irascible & nettled as any porcupine, as polite as a troubadour, & a very John Randolph in character & address."[2] Written in answer to John Boynton Hill's request for letters as "a source of consolation" during his exile in the South,[3] these humorous, condescending thoughts represented the first concrete evidence of Emerson's interest in the Southland in general and in Baltimore and her Southerners in particular. From Hill, Emerson's former Harvard classmate who was now teaching at Garrison Forest Academy, located nine and one-half miles outside of Baltimore,[4] Emerson demanded no less than a complete history of the city: ". . . as to your sparing me the description of the City, it is the very thing you should not have spared; I wait a full & ample history of it, outside and inside. . . ."[5] Either Hill was overwhelmed by the request, or he was unknowledgeable of the region he was shortly to leave. For, though Hill managed to send some details of Baltimore and her culture, Emerson wrote to him on two occasions to tell him that his reports were sketchy and inadequate.[6]

The lack of information in Hill's brief correspondence of several letters did not, however, prevent Emerson from voicing some opinions of his own. Using Massachusetts' culture as his yardstick, he spoke affectionately of Boston, the heartland of New England, "the bosom of the Yankees." Baltimore, though, was the land of "the Southerner" or, as he sometimes wrote, "Southrons." Among the Yankees in Boston peace prevailed; among the Southerners in Baltimore mob violence

[2] Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), I, p. 107. Shortly after writing to Hill, Emerson decided to inquire more fully about the South. Writing to another former classmate, Mellish Irving Motte of South Carolina, Emerson said: ". . . I might add that the peculiar and striking distinctions which we see at Cambridge separating our Northern & Southern Countrymen have always urged my curiosity to inquiries somewhat deeper & more general than common conversation allows. . . ." Motte never replied, and Emerson had to wait until his Southern health trip in 1826 to have his curiosity assuaged. See *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[4] *Federal Gazette*, July 1, 1822.

[5] Rusk, *Letters*, I, p. 107.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113 and 132-135.

could prevail.[7] Emerson believed, as did Hill, that living in Maryland was living in exile.[8]

Though couched in humorous satire, Emerson's view of Baltimore and her people belied a deeper disaffection for the South; and his dark attitude, first evidenced in this view of Baltimore and later confirmed in his trips in the South, continued over the years. Though his attitude was based partly on experience dating from his college days, he nevertheless subscribed early to New England's stereotyped idea of Southerners.[9] And although Emerson followed this tradition and was willing to mass each person from the South into the generalized character known as "the Southerner," he never believed that his consistency was foolish.[10]

II

ON THE FRINGES OF CIVILIZATION

Unlike the teen-age school teacher who wrote letters to Hill to help relieve the tedium of teaching the "fair-haired daughters"[11] of Boston, the twenty-three year old Emerson who walked through the streets of Baltimore in the spring of 1827 was a man changed and changing.

Having completed a winter's health trip of several months in the South—Emerson's first trip outside New England—he had had his earlier judgments confirmed. Staying in Charles-

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 123, and 135. As Dr. Rusk notes: "Emerson could not foresee the Boston riots during the years of excitement over slavery, but he could probably recall stories of mob violence in Baltimore during the War of 1812."

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 132. In referring to Hill's exile, Emerson used the *Old Testament*. In Boston Emerson was in "the pleasant land of my fathers," while in Baltimore Hill was in "Babylonish captivity." In later years Emerson often likened his journeys into the South to journeys into exile.

[9] Jay B. Hubbell, *South and Southwest: Literary Essays and Reminiscences* (North Carolina, 1965), p. 124. The late Dr. Hubbell's essay, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the South," takes as its key Howard R. Floan's study, *The South in Northern Eyes 1831-1861* (Austin, Texas, 1958), and then proceeds in some detail to analyze Emerson's view of the South and the Southerner and the Southerner's view of Emerson. To quote Dr. Floan (pp. 184-185): "The image of the South assembled from the numerous and often scattered comments of Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, and Thoreau is essentially the same image of evil which was portrayed by Garrison and Phillips in their fight against slavery." Adding: "The Southerner was a whip-bearing villain, the Negro an earthbound angel."

[10] The allusion is of course to "Self-Reliance." See *Emerson's Complete Works* (Boston, Massachusetts, 1884), II, p. 58.

[11] Rusk, *Letters*, I, p. 106.

ton and principally in St. Augustine, Emerson felt that he was on foreign soil and among "foreign men." In the "cheerless fen" which was St. Augustine he found a "motley population,"[12] and to Samuel Ripley he wrote of "the wretched aspect of Charleston."[13] Southern manners and Southern sunshine stood alone as points of praise. As for the former, Emerson could say: "I have never seen an awkward Carolinian." As for the latter he could say that he was rested and healthy; indeed, between the 16th of February and the 25th of March he had gained more than ten pounds.[14]

More importantly, his stay in the South had given him the solitude he needed to come to grips with his inner turmoil. Newly licensed to preach, he found himself unable to complete a new sermon while in the South. His *Journal* for the time recorded his increasingly independent thoughts on God and matters spiritual.[15] Nearly a decade had passed since he had begun conceiving the germs of his later doctrines, such as compensation and self-reliance, and writing them in his *Journal.* Now, away from the religious environment which had held him so tenuously in check, he was ready for the release of his tension.

Release came at the eleventh hour. Boarding the sloop *William* for the trip to Charleston, Emerson encountered Achille Murat, ". . . a consistent Atheist, and a disbeliever in the existence, &, of course, in the immortality of the soul."[16] Having arrived in Charleston, Emerson wrote to his brother William: "He [Murat] is a philosopher, a scholar, a man of the world very skeptical but very candid & an ardent lover of truth. I blessed my stars for my fine companion and we talked incessantly."[17] For nine days at sea Murat had tested Emerson to the limit, and Emerson was not found wanting. He retained his belief in God more strongly now than ever, but Murat had converted him to independent thinking.[18]

In a brilliant *Journal* passage unlike any immediately pre-

[12] Davis, *Journals,* III, pp. 88 and 151.
[13] Rusk, *Letters,* I, p. 196.
[14] Davis, *Journals,* III, pp. 59 and 75-77.
[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 68-69, for example.
[16] *Ibid.,* p. 77.
[17] Rusk, *Letters,* I, p. 194.
[18] Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949), pp. 122-123. See also Hubbell, "Ralph Waldo Emerson," pp. 125-126.

ceding or following, Emerson recorded how far he had come in his spiritual development. Shortly before boarding ship for Baltimore, he could write:

> Let the glory of the world go where it will, the mind has its own glory. What it doth, endures. No man can serve many masters. And often the choice is not given you between greatness in the world & greatness of soul which you will choose, but both advantages are not compatible. The night is fine; the stars shed down their severe influences upon me and I feel a joy in my solitude that the merriment of vulgar society can never communicate. There is a pleasure in the thought that the particular tone of my mind at this moment <are> may be new in the Universe; that the emotions of this hour may be peculiar & unexampled in the whole eternity of moral being. I lead a new life. I occupy new ground in the world of spirits, untenanted before. I commence a career of thought & action which is expanding before me into a distant & dazzling infinity. Strange thoughts start up like angels in my way & beckon me onward. I doubt not I tread on the highway that leads to the Divinity.[19]

Nearly a decade would pass before *Nature* would be published in 1836, and more than a decade would pass before *Essays, First Series* would be published in 1841. But when Emerson arrived in Baltimore at the end of April, 1827, he was confirmed for the first time in his faith in self-reliance, the cornerstone of his philosophy.[20] He stood midway between the conception of this central creed and its pronouncement to the world.

Although Emerson may have been about to commence a new "career of thought," he came to the city on matters spiritual *and* practical. He hoped to preach, and as a result, help to pay for his return trip to Boston.

Emerson's short journey of about one-half mile from the harbor and Pratt Street to Baltimore's Unitarian Church, or as it was more formally known, First Independent Christ's Church,[21] at the corner of Franklin and Charles Streets, caused him to recall an earlier judgment. Writing to Samuel Ripley, Emerson first confirmed his former judgment of Charleston

[19] Davis, *Journals,* III, p. 78.

[20] Rusk, *Life,* pp. 122-123. See also Hubbell, "Ralph Waldo Emerson," pp. 125-126.

[21] H. E. Shepherd, *et al., History of Baltimore, Maryland* (n. p., 1898), p. 422.

John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870). Painting by Matthew Wilson. *Peabody Institute*

and concluded with a rather surprising note on Baltimore. The city reminded him of Boston:

> I liked the town [Charleston] no better at our second interview. But I began to doubt whether I was not deceived by the juvenile error of thinking all that was unaccustomed to be precisely in that degree *wrong*; & I so bigoted a Yankee as not to be honest to the beauty of Southern municipal architecture. But when I got to Baltimore, my judgment sat firm in his seat again, for I found fine houses streets churches abounding in a place where I am more a stranger than in Charleston. It is a fine city & in general & in particular looks like Boston. The interior of the Unitarian Church is noble.[22]

[22] Rusk, *Letters*, I, p. 196.

Perhaps also as Emerson approached the Unitarian Church, a building whose Greco-Roman architecture was "quite unlike any in the city," he recalled the controversy generated by Dr. William Ellery Channing's sermon, which was eventually to establish the Unitarians as a separate religious group, that was preached on the ordination of Jared Sparks here almost eight years ago.[23]

Emerson came to the church at a time when it had no regular minister.[24] Reverend Jared Sparks, who was presently doing research on his life of Washington, or as Emerson noted, ransacking [the] house at Mt. Vernon in the absence of Judge Washington at Philadelphia,[25] had left his post at the church in 1823 because of ill-health,[26] and Emerson's step-grandfather, Dr. Ezra Ripley, would not make his first trip out of New England to take part in the ordination of Reverend George W. Burnap,[27] the church's second permanent minister, until April, 1828.[28]

In the absence of permanent clergy Emerson was doubtless happy to find two New Englanders, Bostonians in fact, Reverend Samuel Barrett and Reverend F. W. P. Greenwood.[29] Finding that between them these two men were engaged to preach for eight weeks, Emerson left for Alexandria to visit friends.

Thus Emerson's early encounters with Baltimore were brief. Perhaps, though, he had not a few fond memories of the Boston-like appearance of Baltimore and of the bodily and spiritual health he had when he first visited there for, on two occasions—first when Ellen was near death from tuberculosis in January, 1831, and second, when Margaret Tucker was suffering from the same disease just eight months later[30]—Emerson looked south to Baltimore as a place of health and refuge.

[23] Shepherd, *History of Baltimore,* p. 423.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Rusk, *Letters,* I, p. 197. See also Herbert B. Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (Boston and New York, 1893), II, pp. 11-13.

[26] Shepherd, *History of Baltimore,* p. 423.

[27] George W. Howard, *The Monumental City; Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 564-565.

[28] Rusk, *Letters,* I, p. 231.

[29] *The Boston Directory, 1827.*

[30] Rusk, *Letters,* I, pp. 317 and 330.

III

LECTURES GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE SOUTHERNER

When Emerson first passed through Baltimore, he was probably unaware that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had been chartered in Maryland two months before, in February, 1827. Perhaps, a year and one-half later, he read that Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had "turned the first shovelful of dirt and laid the foundation of the first bridge of the railway, that was eventually to connect the Atlantic seaboard with the great Mississippi Valley."[31]

When, sixteen years later, in the evening of January 7, 1843, Emerson arrived in the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad depot on Pratt Street, he was aware that Charles Carroll was dead.[32] He was also sensitive to the change that had occurred and was occurring in the nation, the change which was to bring about between 1840 and 1861, the "modern shape" of the nation's culture.[33] Having traveled to the city aboard the cars of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, a railway which, like the Baltimore and Ohio, was in 1827, yet to be constructed,[34] Emerson knew that the railroad was a measure of that change. Having walked the several blocks to his room in Barnum's Hotel at the southwest corner of Fayette and Calvert Streets,[35] he recorded in his *Journal*:

> Here today from Philadelphia. The railroad, which was but a toy coach the other day, is now a dowdy, lumbering country wagon. Yet it is not prosaic, as people say, but highly poetic, this strong shuttle which shoots across the forest, swamp, river, and arms of the sea, binding city to city. The Americans take to the little contrivance as if it were the cradle in which they were born.[36]

[31] Shepherd, *History of Baltimore,* p. 516. See also J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 314-317.

[32] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 118.

[33] Carl Bode, *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959), p. x.

[34] Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* p. 348.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 515.

[36] Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds., *Journal of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* VI (Boston and New York, 1911), p. 336.

If the railroad was a measure of the physical change occurring in the United States, Emerson himself was a measure of the intellectual change, for he had published in January, 1841, *Essays, First Series.* In "Self-Reliance" he called men to personal maturity, maturity of mind and body. And the change which Emerson called for was to be mirrored in President Polk's inaugural address of March, 1845, two years after Emerson's Baltimore lecture visit, to all the citizens of the nation: "Who shall assign limits to the achievements of free minds and free hands under the protection of this glorious Union?"[37]

The speaker who came to Baltimore, however, came to make no startling or particularly influential pronouncements. Baltimore was but one stop on a lecture tour occasioned by a need to pay off mounting debts,[38] and Emerson, the author of one substantial book and the editor of an obscure New England journal, was but one lecturer of many in the city.[39] The announcement for his first lecture of the two to be delivered appeared Tuesday morning, January 10th, in the local papers.

Emerson had begun working on the lecture he delivered that night as early as November 25, 1842. In writing to his brother William, he noted the progress on the lectures and also made the strong sectionalism of his youth again apparent: "I have been trying my hand lately at setting down notes with a view to some set of Lectures that I could call 'New England' that should be good enough to bring to the Southerner, but am not perfect in it." Even up to ten days before he was to begin his lecture tour by speaking in Baltimore, he was unsure of the number of "speeches" he had and the precise thematic direction they would take: "I have in my portfolio the value of three pretty good lectures on New England, which may become five before they get spoken; say 1. Religion; 2. Agriculture & Trade; 3. Genius & Manners; 4. Recent Spiritual Influences; 5. Climate, or Relations or Politics or Future or Miscellaneous. . . ."[40] Perhaps even, if the vagueness of the

[37] James K. Polk, "Inaugural Address—March 4, 1845," *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1961), p. 92.

[38] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 88.

[39] For a brief discussion of the lyceum movement in Baltimore see Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York, 1956), pp. 149-150.

[40] Rusk, *Letters,* III, pp. 100 and 107-108.

newspaper announcement be sufficient indication ("Subject—'New England!' "), he was still debating on Tuesday evening what he was going to say as he walked the several blocks from Barnum's Hotel to the building which housed the Mercantile Library Association at the corner of Baltimore and Holliday Streets. If this was so, then the audience may have been treated to the "shuffling of his manuscript," to the skipping of pages, and even to the reverting back to earlier pages, all of which he had done or would do elsewhere.[41]

In any event, when Emerson arrived to deliver the ninth lecture of the season, he had been told by Charles Bradenbaugh,[42] President of the Mercantile Library Association, that the audience would "almost all be Eastern, or of Eastern feeling."[43] And, unlike the rival Library Company of Baltimore, which had as its membership "a select group of merchants and intellectuals who could afford to own a share in the company costing fifty dollars, plus an annual contribution of five to ten dollars," the Mercantile Library Association had a membership of young clerks, apprentices,[44] and merchants,[45] whose annual dues were three dollars and initiation fee was two dollars. It was, in its membership, in its book collections, and in its class offerings (arithmetic, bookkeeping, writing, languages, and debating),[46] a popular organization of young men.

The lecture which Emerson gave that night could not, however, be termed popular, i.e., suitable for the general public, if what the newspapers said and did not say was any indication. Since Emerson left Baltimore the next morning aboard the cars of the "Washington Branch" of the Baltimore and Ohio for a four day visit with friends in the national capital, he himself was probably unaware of the newspapers' reaction to his lecture. *The Sun,* which had been faithfully and fully reporting the Mercantile Library Association's lectures, printed nothing on the lecture and gave as is its excuse the

[41] William Charvat, "A Chronological List of Emerson's American Lecture Engagements," *BNYPL,* LXIV (Sept., 1960), p. 493. The introductory remarks to this listing contain an excellent summary of Emerson's lecture writing style and his mannerisms while speaking.

[42] *Matchett's Baltimore Director, 1842.*

[43] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 118.

[44] Stuart C. Sherman, "The Library Company of Baltimore, 1795-1854," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XXXIX (1944), p. 21.

[45] Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* pp. 659-660.

[46] Sherman, "The Library Company," p. 21.

press of printing "public documents and other matters."[47] Whether *The Sun* was providing a convenient excuse for not reporting a lecture which, like others of Emerson's lectures, may have run "in circles" and may have had "no beginning, middle, or end,"[48] cannot be said for certain. But the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* gave a frank and revealing excuse:

> Mr. Emerson's Lecture, on Tuesday evening, before the Mertile Library Association, was a most interesting discourse. The subject was *"New England."* We cannot attempt a synopsis of the lecture. It abounded in thoughts of a deeper kind than are usually embodied in popular addresses—in views comprehending a large range—and it was marked by a felicity and propriety of diction and manner well calculated to secure the favourable estimation of the listener.
>
> To this brief mention of Mr. Emerson's discourse on Tuesday evening we may add, that he will lecture again before the same Association on next Tuesday evening. As this gentleman, distinguished at home as a profound thinker and an able writer, is comparatively a stranger to our citizens, we take the occasion to quote the following paragraph in relation to him from the Philadelphia U. S. Gazette:
>
> Mr. Emerson is known, here and elsewhere, as a "transcendentalist," deeply imbued with the philosophy of the school thus denominated, and yet himself not of any school, neither of the portico nor the grove. His writings have kindled a flame of poetic fervor in bosoms, that seemed strewed with the ashes of wasted fires, and called up to action springs of benevolence that had long sunk beneath the surface. And those who have gone to listen to, and, perhaps, to smile at, the philosophy of the Transcendentalists, have felt their hearts warmed into benevolence by the persuasions of his eloquence, and peculiarities in the belief of the speaker have been overlooked in the gush of new and better thoughts that he had called up. We do not always find the good we seek, but our disappointment in the object is sometimes overpaid by the excellence of the unexpected discovery.[49]

[47] *The Sun* (Baltimore), Jan. 13, 1843.

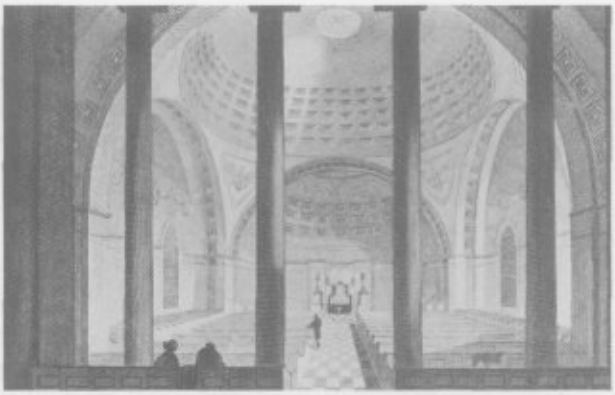
[48] Charvat, "A Chronological List," p. 493. Additional support for the belief that Emerson had not finalized his lecture course comes from Emerson and Forbes, *Journals*, VI, pp. 335-336. The course's final titles do not correspond with Emerson's earlier titles. Additionally, the tenth lecture before the Mercantile Library Association, titled "Customs, Genius, and Trade of New England," does not appear in the finalized lecture course of February: "I, Genius of the Anglo-Saxon Race; II, Trade; III, Manners and Customs of New England; IV, Recent Literature and Spiritual Influences; V, Results."

[49] The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 12, 1843.

Apparently, the New England intellectual climate, of which Emerson was the chief element, had not to any great extent been felt in Baltimore, or for that matter, in the South.[50] In fact, Baltimore in 1843, though the third largest and fastest growing city in the United States, could hardly be called an intellectual or cultural center. With the exception of the two subscription libraries, one of which admittedly did not place a great financial burden on its subscribers, Baltimore could boast of no public library and no scholarly library, save that in Washington, thirty miles away, where the Library of Congress was strong in only a few areas, notably American history.[51] Baltimore's "Collegiate Department" of the University of Maryland, then under the leadership of a man who would eventually steal and sell the very desks of the college, had begun its descent to intellectual turpitude three years before.[52] According to Samuel Eliot Morison, Baltimore was the only major city in America "without a conservatory of music, an art museum, or a learned journal."[53] Indeed, the city could boast of having produced only one noted artist, William H. Rinehart, the sculptor. Finding neither models nor patrons, he would travel to Rome in 1859, never to return. Alone and aloof stood John Pendleton Kennedy. By 1843, he had published all his major works, including the successful novels, *Swallow Barn* (1832) and *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835), and had been compared by some of his contemporaries to Cooper and Irving.[54]

Emerson received the first indication of Baltimore's intellectual and cultural climate on the day after he arrived in the city. Writing on Sunday, January 8th, after a vain search for kindred spirits, he was not without an optimistic, if somewhat cryptic frame of mind: "In Baltimore, although I have enquired diligently as Herod the King, after holy children, I have not yet heard of any in whom the spirit of the great gods dwelleth. And yet without doubt such are in every street." On Monday, however, after a conversation with Charles

[50] Hubbell, *South and Southwest*, p. 139.
[51] Samuel Eliot Morison, *Nathaniel Holmes Morison: 1815-1890* (Baltimore, 1957), pp. 3-5.
[52] George H. Callcott, *A History of the University of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 56-97.
[53] Morison, *Nathaniel Holmes Morison*, p. 4.
[54] For Rinehart and Kennedy see the *Dictionary of American Biography*.



Unitarian Church interior, c. 1831. *Maryland Historical Society*

Bradenbaugh, Emerson found that his optimism could no longer be sustained. Bradenbaugh, a native of the city and a "good youth"[55] whom Emerson came to like (perhaps for his frankness), prepared Emerson for an intellectual climate quite unlike Emerson's own.

"Have you any libraries, here?" asked Emerson.
"None."
"Have you any poet?"
"Yes; Mr. McJilton."
"Who?"
"Mr. McJilton."
"Any Scholar?"
"None."[56]

To this conversation Emerson had similarly brief and blunt concluding thoughts: "Charles Carroll the Signer is dead, & Archbishop Carroll is dead, and there is no vision in the land."[57]

Although Emerson may have been unknown to a majority of Baltimoreans, though he could not "hear of any poets, mystics, or strong characters of any sort,"[58] and though he spent a "much more pleasant and exciting visit" of four days in Washington than the "very pleasant" visit he spent in Balti-

[55] Rusk, *Letters,* III, pp. 116 and 125.
[56] *Ibid.,* p. 118. For "Mr. McJilton" see *Matchett's Baltimore Director.* See also Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* p. 650. See also John H. Hewitt, *Shadows on the Wall or Glimpses of the Past* (Baltimore, 1877), p. 57 and pp. 48-49.
[57] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 118.
[58] *Ibid.*

more,[59] he did not spend the three days before each lecture in self-imposed exile in his room at Barnum's Hotel. Though, to be sure, David Barnum's hotel was not without its own attractions. It had known the champagne suppers of Emerson's "jingle man,"[60] Edgar Allan Poe.[61] And it was, as Emerson had recently read in Charles Dickens' *American Notes,* the "most comfortable of all hotels of which I had any experience in the United States."[62] In characteristic New England reserve Emerson noted simply that he was "very well lodged and well fed."[63]

Despite Barnum's Southern hospitality and cuisine, Emerson was not one to stay indoors. Not the least of the outside attractions was the weather. When he left New York, he had had to trudge through a foot of snow to board his train. Three hours later, midway between New York and Philadelphia, he had left the snow behind. At Baltimore, only twelve train hours later, he was greeted by mild and balmy weather: "Here canary birds' cages hang outside of the windows and myrtle trees or something looking very like myrtle grow in the open air in a neighboring yard." To accompany the pleasant weather that Emerson enjoyed in Baltimore was good health: the long train ride had cured his ailing foot.[64] Once again a healthy Emerson was greeted by a friendly climate in Baltimore.

The city, too, offered other attractions to the visitor. Emerson had long ago likened Baltimore to Boston, and he could say with Dickens that Baltimore had "many agreeable streets and public buildings."[65] Like Dickens, Emerson probably walked the several blocks from Barnum's to the nearly two hundred foot high Doric column of white marble known as the Washington Monument, which was located at Mount

[59] *Ibid.,* p. 142.
[60] Hubbell, *South and Southwest,* p. 144.
[61] John C. French, "Poe's Literary Baltimore," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XXXII (1937), p. 103.
[62] Charles Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy* (New York, 1957), p. 137. Emerson read Dickens' endorsement of Barnum's Hotel about the time he was preparing lectures "good enough to bring to the Southerner. . . ." When Emerson registered at Barnum's he doubtless had Dickens in mind. See Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 117.
[63] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 117.
[64] *Ibid.,* pp. 117-118. See also *Sun,* January 10, 1843, which noted the record snowfall.
[65] Dickens, *American Notes,* p. 137.

Vernon Place. Another memorial, the Battle Monument, a fifty foot marble structure surmounted by a statue symbolic of the city of Baltimore, was just a block away from the hotel's entrance.

There was, however, only one structure in the city for which Emerson had an abiding attraction; it was the church that he called the "American Cathedrale," situated on Mulberry and Cathedral Streets. Completed in 1821, the Cathedral was replete with portico and pillars and a dome of two hundred and seven feet in circumference. Its style and decorations were of a rich Grecian Ionic order.[66] To have seen Emerson at high mass on those two Sunday mornings in January was, from all outward appearances, to have seen a fervent Catholic. "It is well for my Protestantism," he wrote to Lidian, "that we have no Cathedral in Concord." For the Cathedral offered more than a reminder of the pleasant trip he had had in Europe and of the churches he had visited while there. Like Hawthorne, Emerson was entranced by the "romance" of the Roman Catholic Church's richness, in general, and by the splendor of its ceremony, in particular. To Lidian he recounted the sensuous delights in detail:

> The chanting priest, the pictured walls, the lighted altar, the surpliced boys, the swinging censer, every whiff of which I inhaled, brought all Rome again to mind. And Rome can smell so far! It is a dear old church, the Roman, I mean, and today I detest the Unitarians and Martin Luther and all the parliament of Barebones.

To which he added: " 'Ah! that one word of it were true!' " He also noted some new trappings, indicative of the fact that he had visited the Cathedral in 1827:

> One small element of new views has, however, got into the American Cathedral, namely, pews; and after service I detected another, a *railroad,* which runs from one angle of the altar down into the broad aisle, for the occasional transportation of a pulpit. We are as good for that, as the French who pared apples at dinner with little guillotines.[67]

[66] Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* p. 532.

[67] Rusk, *Letters,* III, pp. 116-117. For an interesting contemporary European's view of the Cathedral see Larry Gara, trans., and Henry Bertram Hill, ed., "Henri Herz' Descriptions of Baltimore," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* LII (1957), pp. 120-123. Herz said that the Cathedral's "exterior proportions leave much to be desired by our standards."

To the agreeable climate, streets, and buildings, Emerson could add a select group of friends and acquaintances. Of these several people, the one about whom Emerson probably and happily knew the least about was Henry Thoreau's former Harvard classmate, Horace Morison.[68] Morison had shown some promise at Harvard,[69] but such promise hardly justified his moving in four years from college senior to college "president, professor, and instructor." Such was his listing in *A Prospectus of the Collegiate Department of the University of Maryland, 1841.*

How Emerson came to meet Morison cannot be said for certain. As Emerson walked along Mulberry Street, he may have visited the college. As was more likely, Morison had probably sought out Emerson to get him to deliver a free lecture at the college. Of Morison, Emerson noted only that "He seemed to be thriving there as the President and Professors in his single person of the 'University of Maryland.' By the look of his pupils and lecture room, I should call it a *School.*"[70]

When Emerson wrote these words, he doubtless had no ironical intention in the use of the word "thriving," but he clearly recognized that the university college was not exactly what its name suggested. And, if there was one person in the city who could confirm Bradenbaugh's judgment about Baltimore's intellectual climate, that one person was Horace Morison. A high school principal to whom the Mulberry Street college was turned over to in 1840, Morison was interested in two things: discipline, which took the form of severe whippings, and money, which took the form of embezzlement. Scholarship, which took the form of "forced learning," ran a poor third. Not until 1852, did a faculty investigating committee from the University's other colleges find that Morison "was using the property for his personal gain and had allowed the building to depreciate from $80,000 to $25,000."[71]

Somewhat unlike Morison, who helped to deal the city and

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 129. See also *Matchett's Baltimore Director.* See, for example, "A Bowdoin Prize Dissertation by Horace Morison of the Junior Class, 1836," *ESQ,* No. 12 (1958), pp. 19-24.

[70] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 129.
[71] Callcott, *History of University of Maryland,* pp. 96-97.

the state a blow from which they would not fully recover until after the Civil War, was Brantz Mayer.[72] Mayer was a competent lawyer who aspired to be a writer of note and never succeeded. Bold enough to give himself the title of "littérateur," Mayer has been described by Malcolm Cowley as "one of those admirable nonentities who had learnt the art of being important."[73] Above all, Mayer was an opportunist in literary matters. At a time when the call for travel literature was loudest, he capitalized on a political reward of serving a year in Mexico as Secretary of the United States Legation by spending the time writing of his journeys. When the slavery question was at its height, he published the supposedly authentic *Adventures of an African Slaver,* and so on.[74]

Emerson first met Mayer during his Italian visit in 1833; they shared a coach during the five and one-half days' journey between Rome and Florence.[75] Although in Baltimore Emerson reported that he saw Mayer "a good deal,"[76] he probably did not make the first move, as it was Mayer's practice to court the favor of literary men. In any case, they were not without some traits in common. They were about the same age. Both had seen Europe. Both supported the Union cause. Neither (at this time) was a reformer in political matters. Though rather markedly of unequal rank, both were writers.[77]

Their discussions ranged from legal matters to Mexico, from which Mayer had returned in November, 1842. For his brother William, Emerson got—to use Mayer's words—"ex cathedra" council. Primarily, however, the two men discussed Mexico. Mayer communicated his general interest in the country and her people to Emerson, while discussing in particular, his "Letters from Mexico," which had appeared in *The New World* from January 22 to June 11, 1842.[78] Despite these talks and despite the fact that Emerson spoke out against

[72] Bernard C. Steiner, "Brantz Mayer," *Md. Hist. Mag.,* V (1910), pp. 1-8. See also Jerry E. Patterson, "Brantz Mayer, Man of Letters," *Md. Hist Mag.,* LII (1957), pp. 275-289.

[73] Malcolm Cowley, ed., *Adventures of an African Slaver* (New York, 1928), p. xx.

[74] Patterson, p. 276 ff.

[75] Rusk, *Letters,* I, pp. 374, 380; V, p. 460. See also Davis, IV (1964), p. 166.

[76] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 127.

[77] Steiner, "Brantz Mayer," pp. 1-5.

[78] Rusk, *Letters,* III, pp. 118 and 127.

Charles Bradenbaugh (1820-1862). Painting by C. L. Elliott.
Maryland Historical Society Collections. Deposited by the *Peabody Institute.*

United States' injustices in the War with Mexico, he took little more than passing interest in a country that was even more primitive than Florida. For that matter, while he usually took an interest in anyone who showed some promise, Emerson took little more than passing interest in Mayer.

From all accounts this first meeting in Baltimore was also their last,[79] but years later a curious epilogue occurred. In 1867, Mayer felt that he had known Emerson well enough (as well as practically all the major writers and statesmen in America)[80] to send him a copy of his *Memoir of Jared Sparks, LL. D.,* a person Mayer had neither known well nor inti-

[79] They may have seen each other during Emerson's visit to the city in 1859; however, Mayer was not in the city when Emerson visited it in 1872 for his third and final lecture tour.

[80] Kenneth Walter Cameron, "A Sheaf of Emerson Letters," *AL,* XXIV (1953), pp. 478-479.

mately.[81] Issued in a private edition of fifty copies, the *Memoir* was sent to Emerson with a request for a letter of comment. Like all the other respondents, Emerson wrote a conventional reply. In it he said that when he had time to read the *Memoir* he would send "what word it should inspire."[82] If Emerson sent an additional reply, it did not appear in the elaborate single edition of the combined *Memoir* and letters of reply, which Mayer presented to his wife on Sparks' birthday, October 7, 1872.[83]

Unlike Morison and Mayer, there was one person whom Emerson determined definitely to seek out.[84] He was Solomon Corner, a flour merchant and a native Baltimorean who had written a letter to Emerson in May, 1842, to which Emerson had responded two months later.[85]

Of Corner's life, little can be said. His grandson noted that though Corner had no formal education beyond grade school, he was an avid reader, especially of books of a religious and serious kind. His mind was one which often turned to meditation, probably in part the result "of long sailing-voyages to Brazil in his early life." Such meditation resulted in "principals for daily living, high-minded, responsible, kindly." Years before the Civil War, for instance, he freed his several slaves; and during the war he supported the Union in a state whose allegiance was always in doubt. His religious associations were the primary part of his life. His father had converted to Methodism, and his son had reluctantly followed suit. In addition, his wife's father and two of her brothers were Methodist ministers. As his grandson recalled: "Religious affiliations were then . . . a central fact, often *the* central fact, in the lives of the people among whom he lived and disturbance of such affiliations was profoundly unsettling." Such was Solomon Corner's case; he came from a family strong in its religious orientation, and at the same time, he was secretly opposed to that orientation.[86]

[81] Patterson, "Brantz Mayer," p. 288.
[82] Cameron, "Sheaf of Emerson Letters," p. 479.
[83] Patterson, "Brantz Mayer," p. 288.
[84] Rusk, *Letters*, III, p. 118.
[85] Willard Reed, *A Letter of Emerson* (Boston, 1934), pp. 13 and 17. See also Rusk, *Letters*, III, p. 69. See also *Matchett's Baltimore Director*, June 1842, which notes that Corner is a member of Keller and Corner, flour merchants.
[86] Reed, *Letter of Emerson*, pp. 25-26.

These facts, taken together, formed an interesting background to the inspired letter Corner wrote to Emerson. In it Corner revealed, as he had probably revealed to no one else, his deep, inner turmoil: "I know not that anything in it may interest you, but so powerfully have your writings spoken to my soul that I feel as if I had found a brother in an entire stranger." The twenty-nine year old Corner said that some fifteen years ago he had gained an intuitive insight into the enigma of existence: ". . . the idea of the unity of all things, of the 'all in all' came over me with the power of innate underlying truth, and I said to myself, 'Surely this is Truth.'" But he had never had the faith to follow his insight and to rebel against what he termed "the faith of my fathers." His reason: "I had no self-reliance."[87] In 1842, though, the situation was changing, for Corner had read *Essays, First Series*:

> Your essay upon 'Self-Reliance' has determined me to act and think for myself, and although the way is a narrow and rugged one and will amount to almost spiritual martyrdom in my situation, yet I can see no alternative as an honest man than to follow the light I now have and to walk in it until I shall see a clearer one, and then, though it may be at the hazard of my character for consistency, to follow that, though I may be Christian or Buddhist twice a day. I can face the world and, I think, regard its sneers or approval but lightly, but my heart bleeds to think of the pain an avowal of Heterodox opinions may cause a wife and a mother. I am afraid I shall faint there.
>
> In all this large city I do not know of a single individual of congenial sentiments. I have no access to the works of Spinoza, understanding no language but my own, and, destitute of all outward resources, it will be difficult enough for me to act the part I see to be the only right one for me.[88]

That Emerson would reply at all—much less reply at length—to a total stranger, that he could write words of encouragement within months of having suffered the loss of Waldo, the "hyacinthine boy" of "Threnody," was evidence of his strength of thought and character. Emerson saw in Corner not only a man in need of spiritual aid, but also a congenial spirit, a man of frankness, of deep thought, and of silent, if not vocal, dedication to truth. Emerson may have also seen a parallel case of

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 13 and 15.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

his own earlier spiritual turmoil; both had made important insights in 1827.

Framed in the epigrammatic style which was to help make him famous, his thoughts in the letter centered on transcendentalism and the terminology used was that of "The Transcendentalist," a lecture Emerson had delivered in Boston earlier in the year.[89] Emerson addressed himself to Corner's "innate underlying truth." Speaking of that spiritual Life which underlies all sense reality, he wrote:

> We have found at last that there *is* something, and instantly all that we called Heaven and Earth have become a pale appearance. Then they glow again, new created by *it*.
>
> And this Fact in its first self-discovery advises us how subtle, how old, how good, how omnipresent it is, how long it can wait for us; after our departures and returns, our right and wrong, our haps and mishaps, we shall still find it immovably fast—after them all and pending them all, yes, and informing them all. Indeed that Life of which I speak is so near that all speech concerning it is remote, impertinent, and self-reproved. Let us only shake hands in its spirit, as men do at some great or religious event, without words.[90]

Emerson concluded by urging Corner to persevere in his search for Truth and by telling him that the soul was equal to the task:

> So that I count these to be low, sleepy, dark ages of the Soul, only redeemed by the unceasing affirmation at the bottom of the heart—like the nightingale's song heard at night—that the powers of the Soul are commensurate with its needs, all experience to the contrary notwithstanding.[91]

Though thus encouraged, Corner wrote a second and final letter to Emerson to tell him that "Orthodoxy" was all around him, that he had not any coherent views of the Deity, and that, despite his earlier optimism, he had not found the courage to avow his shifting ideas to his wife and family: "My only alternative is to take rank as a new enquirer, to bide my time, and seek for greater energy of character and decision of mind." And he added in this letter as in the first one: "I want self-reliance."[92] He closed with an appeal for help.

[89] *Emerson's Works*, I, pp. 308-339.
[90] Reed, *Letter of Emerson*, pp. 17-18.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

Baltimore, Maryland. *The Illustrated London News,* 1856.
Maryland Historical Society

Here was the kindred spirit Emerson sought to find in Baltimore—and did. Here too was the type of situation Emerson had once found himself in. Of the one conversation they had in Baltimore, nothing was known. But it was clear that Emerson contributed to the surcease of Corner's anxieties and was the instrument causing him to act. For, after the two had exchanged letters, Corner broke with tradition and joined Baltimore's Unitarian Church, then under Reverend George W. Burnap's care. According to his grandson, Corner "remained a consistent adherent and supporter of it all the rest of his life"[93]

When Emerson delivered his second lecture before the Association on January 17th, these men, save Solomon Corner who was away,[94] were probably present. In any case, the young merchants in the audience were many, and they were treated to a lecture they could readily appreciate. As its title suggested, it was much more "popular" and much more concrete than his airy first lecture. Before recounting the lecture in detail, *The Sun's* reporter could not refrain from writing an introductory editorial:

> The name and fame of Mr. Emerson, and, we may readily suppose in addition, the entertaining character of his first lecture,

[93] *Ibid.,* p. 26.
[94] Rusk, *Letters,* III, p. 125.

attracted a very large audience to the edifice occupied by the above Institution for lectures, on Tuesday night; and we are satisfied that no audience left the doors during the season better pleased than they were upon that occasion; notwithstanding the fact that the gifted speaker made free with the errors of his own countrymen in a style that would have brought a tempest of indignation around the ears of a foreigner. They were wholesome truths, however, and blended with good, honest and reasonable opinions, went home with conviction to the unprejudiced and reflecting mind.

Having noted that Emerson's theme embraced not only New England but also the entire United States, the reporter wrote with obvious enthusiasm about a lecture which was dotted with humor throughout. His account, a tour de force itself, was worth reading:

The introduction consisted of a brief allusion to the New England country, its advantages and disadvantages; and some very pertinent observations were made relative to personal reflections, on witnessing the trains of wagons continually moving along the highways which intersect the country, laden with all the rare productions of the east, including everything conducive to comfort and luxury, and carried thus to the remotest isolated cabins of the mountain and the vale. The character of the New Englander was sketched in an amusing manner, and viewed as challenging praise or blame according to the prejudices of the people amongst whom he may establish himself. The peculiar and almost invariable success which attends his efforts, was noticed in a vein of quiet and irresistible humor. The Yankee was spoken of as laying hold of a rope's end or a spar and making his landing sure; he then secures an old pine stump and it is wonderful to see him in the course of a few years, whittling out a house, a farm, a barn, a seat in the legislature, in congress, and finally a mission to England. The merchant, as such was favored with a masterly review, and the too frequently unstable, volatile and inflated character of mercantile pursuits exposed to the merciless eloquence of a judgment severe but just. The startling fact declared in Congress the other day that where one "merchant" was solvent and successful, in Wall Street, no less than ninety actually failed, was held up to confirmation by the experience and observation of others; the exhibit reducing commerce to a species of piracy; the varioloid to cannibalism; a condition in which it was necessary to eat or be eaten, and wherein one large merchant necessarily swallowed up eight or ten lesser ones. Facts leading to a belief in the assertion

of General Jackson, that nobody breaks but those who ought to break. The necessity of perseverance, industry, sturdy, careful enterprise was emphatically inculcated, and the spirit of speculation and the disposition to look to some magical agency in the acquisition of wealth rebuked with the words of Napoleon, who had observed that 'Providence always favors the heaviest battalions.' Good luck, said the speaker, is but another name for industry. The system should be regulated by the inevitable laws which rule with arbitrary sway the principles of acquisition; a distinction was here drawn between the merchant who is guided by his observation of these laws, and he who, disregarding them, trusts, as is too common in this country, to what we call chance. The origin of the great New England maratime (sic) interests was referred to; their advance, and the causes of their success explained in a remarkably pleasing strain of descriptive commentary. The eventful and daring life and habits of the New England seaman were exquisitely depicted, and the pre-eminence of the useful in comparison with the pleasing, the practical over the theoretical, or 'beef and bread over lemons and lozenges' illustrated in the career of the mariner whose school was in the indentations of our coast, whose nursery was the fisheries, and whose empire was the boundless sea. The successful rivalry of the American commercial navigator with the marine of other nations was explained, in the steady perseverance with which he pursues his ends, and the economy with which those pursuits are conducted. In drawing his interesting and admirable lecture to a close, the speaker considered the distinction between the ascendancy of reason, sentiment or soul, and that of the understanding, attributing to the former a paramount excellence; he then, with a searching and conclusive argument, proceeded to exhibit the fact that the latter was triumphant in America; boldly avowed the results to which it must lead, and warmly deprecated them. The evidence of the facts he asserted were to be found in all the relations of life; they were to be seen in our colleges, legislatures, courts, lecture rooms, counting houses, and even in the pulpit; education, legislature, law, public instruction, trade and religion, all looked to the advancement of the understanding; the reason, the soul, the sentiment of our nature was overpowered by the activity of our knowledge; whereas that activity should be kept in subjection by the predominant influence of our reason. The eloquent discourse was closed in a manner that did infinite honor to the head and heart of the talented and accomplished orator.[95]

[95] *Sun*, January 19, 1843.

Here Emerson combined his best New England pragmatism and idealism. While he deprecated ruthless business practices, he praised those businessmen who were industrious, perseverant, and well-informed. At the same time he stressed the importance of the higher faculty of the soul, reason, over its lower faculty, the understanding. Throughout he remained jovial and endearing.

After delivering the lecture, Emerson received a warm response. And to Lidian he wrote: "Just at the close of my second lecture, that is, just on parting, I was introduced to several persons who showed such signs that I was sorry not to have seen them earlier." After meeting these people, Emerson was accompanied back to Barnum's by the staunch, conservative Unitarian, Reverend Dr. Burnap, and they talked for two hours. Here also Emerson happily noted: ". . . we came a little nearer to humanity and its needs than usual."[96]

In the morning, Emerson learned that Bradenbaugh (possibly the postal clerk) had mismanaged the one responsibility that Emerson had given him, i.e., to watch for letters. As Emerson was just about to leave Barnum's to board the train for Philadelphia, he happened to pick up *The Sun*: ". . . I took up a *piece* of a newspaper and my eye rested on my own name. I looked up to the head of the column and found it was a list of letters in the Post Office and *two* marked against my name." Arriving in haste at the Post Office, he found letters from Margaret Fuller and William Furness. Because he had not attended to the Furness letter sooner, Emerson found upon reaching Philadelphia that his lecture engagement would have to be delayed for more than a week.[97]

Despite this unhappy note, he wrote to Lidian: "Several intelligent gentlemen were civil and friendly to me [in Baltimore] and I could easily have known the city better had I not gone to Washington."[98]

[96] Rusk, *Letters*, III, p. 125. For Burnap see *DAB*.
[97] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

IV

AN AMERICAN SUCCESS

When Emerson left late on January 2, 1859, for Baltimore and the start of another year of lecturing, he had not seen the city for more than a decade and one-half. Though Baltimore's cultural life was still at low tide,[99] much had happened to Emerson. He could no longer claim to be a young man, as he could in 1843; at 55, he was now in late middle age and well on his way toward becoming the "Sage of Concord." Besides adding to his age, these years also saw into print such well-known works as *Essays, Second Series* (1844), *Poems* (1846), and *English Traits* (1856). Added to his earlier works, they now showed signs of affording him an income. His fame as a lecturer, moreover, had grown steadily with the years. At the close 1858, he happily counted $1988 as lecture income in a year in which he "had given fewer than usual and traveled less widely." His lecture tours were now one success after another.[100]

On arriving in Baltimore on January 4th for a one-night stand, Emerson carried with him his creed for success, the appropriately titled "The Law of Success," a lecture which he put to good use throughout the 1858-59 season,[101] and which was later pubished in slightly altered form in *Society and Solitude* (1870).[102]

Success was what the members of the Mercantile Library Association expected that Emerson would have in Baltimore. His fee was to be $100, a fee that Emerson had received only five times before—and those within the last year or so.[103] They had moved their meeting place from the Baltimore Athenaeum Building to the more spacious Universalist Church, located at the northeast corner of Calvert and Pleasant Streets.[104]

[99] Morison, *Nathaniel Holmes Morison,* p. 4.

[100] Rusk, *Life,* p. 400.

[101] Rusk, *Letters,* V, pp. 126-139.

[102] *Emerson's Works,* IV, pp. 265-293. My study of the very detailed report in the *Baltimore American,* January 6, 1859 and the essay "Success" revealed that the alterations were slight. Emerson's basic change was the removal of a number of examples.

[103] Charvat, "Chronological List," pp. 608-609.

[104] *Baltimore American,* Jan. 4, 1859. See also Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* p. 590.

Their moves were well founded; unlike any previous lecture for the season, it was attended to capacity at $.50 per person.[105]

And unlike the audience of merchants Emerson had addressed in 1843, this audience boasted some of the city's best known lawyers and divines. Though such now long-forgotten Baltimore luminaries as Judge Price and Reverend E. Yeates Reese, D. D., poet and magazine editor, were present,[106] there was one person in particular who lent a distinguished air to the gathering. He was John Pendleton Kennedy.[107] That Kennedy, Emerson's equal, if not his superior, in the South, came from his home at Mount Vernon Place and walked through the snow and rain to sit at Emerson's feet was high praise indeed.[108]

At about eight o'clock, George A. Pope, President of the Association, introduced Emerson.[109] The audience became quiet and directed "unbroken attention"[110] toward the speaker. Emerson rose, announced the lecture's title, and talked for nearly one hour and forty minutes. His manner of delivery was now vintage: He spoke slowly, at times tediously. Pauses were long and abrupt. He fumbled with his manuscript, and at least twice he lost his text. Despite these failings, one reporter reductantly said: ". . . his remarks were listened to throughout with apparent interest."[111] And another: "We never knew so large an assembly to manifest more general interest in a speaker. . . ."[112]

Though Emerson still did not claim the attention of the lesser newspapers, he received full coverage in the two major dailys, *The Sun* and the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser.* The latter gave equal front page coverage to

[105] *Sun,* Jan. 5, 1859. See also the *Baltimore American,* January 4, 1859.

[106] *Sun,* Jan. 5, 1859. For Reese see Hewitt, *Shadows on the Wall,* p. 38. See also Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* p. 651.

[107] *Ibid., Sun,* Jan. 5, 1859. There is a contradiction between the newspaper account and Kennedy's Journal (MS. Journal L, Peabody Library, Baltimore). Kennedy's morning entry for the day includes the following: "Snowy, Rainy. I do not go out." There is no evening entry and no mention of Emerson's lecture. Yet, at the same time, I find it unbelievable that the reporter could be wrong. Kennedy was the most eminent Baltimorean then living.

[108] For place of residence see *DAB.*

[109] *Sun,* Jan. 5, 1859.

[110] The *Baltimore American,* Jan. 6, 1859.

[111] *Sun,* Jan. 5, 1859. The number is based on a sentence by sentence parallel study of the *Baltimore American's* published report and the essay "Success."

[112] The *Baltimore American,* Jan. 6, 1859.

Emerson's lecture and a speech by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, who was also in Baltimore. The two reports, Emerson's following immediately upon that of Douglas, formed curious companion pieces. Outlining his principles for America to follow, Douglas called for States' Rights over individual human rights, slavery, annexation of Mexico and Cuba, and indefinite expansion of the Union. And yes, he even took note of New England: "Our fathers knew that the law and institutions which were well adapted to the granite hills of New England, were not well suited to the tobacco plantations of Maryland. [Cries of good and great applause.]"[113]

Emerson, too, spoke of his dream for America, of the principles Americans should follow for a successful life; but how unlike were his sentiments when compared to those uttered by Douglas. Emerson knew the kind of Americanism that Douglas represented, and at the outset he acknowledged:

> . . . we Americans could not be accused of ignorance of the science of profit—nor of a lack of praise of what we had done. The earth is shaken by our engines; we count our census; estimate our values; correct our maps every year, and our eyes run approvingly along vast lines of railroad and telegraph. Our navigator has gone nearest to the pole; we have discovered the Antarctic continent; we interfere with all our neighbors; we regulate Central and South America; we are the brag of the world, and in this restlessness and clamor we follow the law of youth and unfolding power.[114]

These, Emerson continued, were mere outward trappings; Americans were too much occupied with the mania for material success. Great men, Hipprocrates, Columbus, and Laverrier among them, had lived without such a mania. His attack grew strong:

> I fear we Americans have too much of the spirit of grasping, of egotism, of exclusion; hence we are haggard and care worn and have the furrowed brow that is the first thing noticed by a stranger. Egotism! egotism! It too has its use as kind of buckram to strengthen fabrics where local and spasmodic strength is requisite; and I can conceive of men made of this sort of stuff who have so won upon a foolish people that their death shall be con-

[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*

Brantz Mayer (1809-1879).
Maryland Historical Society

> sidered a national loss; nature, however, utilises all our folly: misers, fanatics, showmen, egotists; but we must not think better of our weakness for all that. When shall we check this shallow Americanism, that gives flattery without approval; loves chiefly the power to make believe; sells books by pretending books are sold; in short, gets wealth by fraud. These persons think they have success, but they have mischief, disease, suicide.[115]

There was, he continued, a greater power, a spiritual power, that man needed to draw upon. Whatever work produced, it had to be judged by that inner power and design. The first secret of success was self-trust and the recognition of one's true inner worth and value:

> It is a nice point to discriminate, this self-trust, from the disease to which it is allied [imitation]. It is sanity to know that when we work aright we are bound to the centre of all intelligence. He who comes here comes into perfect self-possession.

Success required a lack of imitation; Nature needed to be observed: "So much does Nature scorn all that is artificial, that when a man looks from his own eyes the whole earth speaks and the heavens are glad." Above all, success required that men know the power of good, of affirmation over negation:

> To every new pretender I put the question, what does he add to me? What mental state does he leave me in? How high has he carried life? Let a man leave off moaning; nature covers up the skeleton and over it she weaves tissues of skin and hair, and she beautifies them with lovely colors. She drives death under ground and covers him with heaps of leaves. Who and what are you that

[115] *Ibid.*

> lay this anatomy here? Don't be a cynic and deny, but shock us with affirmations. Chaunt the beauty of life. Do not moan and mouthe and croak. Help somebody. This is the work of Divine souls.[116]

Here, then, stood Emerson, the perfect embodiment of all that he had said. He was, in the best sense of the word, an American success.

Having finished his address, he left for Barnum's and a night's sleep. In the morning he departed for New York.

V

BEYOND SUCCESS

Between January, 1859 and January, 1872, the time of his last visit to Baltimore, Emerson had moved beyond success. He was now an elder statesman in American letters. Of the three great New Englanders, Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne, all, save Emerson, had died since 1859; and at sixty-eight, his life too was coming to a close. By 1870, he had seen into print *Society and Solitude,* the last volume he personally prepared for publication.[117] By the same year, Emerson's mind had begun its decline, and as a consequence, his lectures became—more so than usual—"rambling and incoherent."[118]

Baltimore had also changed significantly. In 1863, the building which was to house the famed Peabody Institute was completed at Mount Vernon Place, and three years later its library was opened to the public. Eighteen hundred and seventy saw the establishment of the Maryland Academy of Art. According to one contemporary, "It was thought that as Baltimore was then . . . giving indications of a growing interest in art, that it was a propitious moment for the formation of this academy."[119] With the opening of Ford's Opera House in 1871, professional theatre came to Baltimore.[120] Three years

[116] *Ibid.*

[117] Frederick Ives Carpenter, *Emerson Handbook* (New York, 1953), p. 67.

[118] Oral Sumner Coad, "An Unpublished Lecture by Emerson," *AL,* XIV (1943), p. 421. Dr. Coad reports on Emerson's lecture style (delivery, mannerisms, etc.) in 1872.

[119] Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* pp. 664-665 and 675.

[120] *A History of the City of Baltimore: Its Men and Institutions* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 31.

later the Johns Hopkins University was founded.[121] The city's intellectual and cultural life was changing; the change had been forty years in coming.

It was at this time—with both Emerson and Baltimore at the crossroads—that Dr. Nathaniel Holmes Morison, Provost of the Peabody Institute, invited Emerson to speak in the city. The invitation was tendered on April 19, 1871, and Emerson's reply came two months later. The old attraction still held: ". . . I will say that though less in the habit of reading lectures than formerly, the proposal of a visit to Baltimore is attractive to me. . . ." Additional correspondence followed; arrangements were made to suit mutual convenience; and on December 25th, Emerson sent the titles of his lectures to Dr. Morison. They were "1. Imagination and Poetry. 2. Resources and Inspiration. 3. Homes and Hospitality. 4. Art and Nature."[122]

Emerson began the seventeen hour trip to Baltimore on Monday, January 1st, and arrived on the afternoon of the 2nd, the day of his first lecture.[123] On arriving, he realized that he had forgotten the name of the hotel that his daughter Edith had given him just the day before. Was it "the Maltby?" "Was it St. Clair?" The train conductor did not think so, and Emerson found his way to Barnum's. Writing to Lidian, he said: ". . . in the doubt [I] came to this house, whither I had come twice before, long since, and of course am well entertained." And he added: "Baltimore is a fine city as large as Boston is now, and with a new prosperity since the war which had stopped its growth."[124]

In the evening Dr. Morison sought Emerson out,[125] and the two probably walked together to the Peabody. Doubtless Emerson inquired of the health of Morison's brother, the former "President, Professor and Instructor" of the University of Maryland, who had left the city in haste twenty years ago. In any case, Dr. Morison, whose scholarly reputation was

[121] Shepherd, *History of Baltimore,* p. 54.

[122] *Mr. Emerson Lectures at the Peabody Institute* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 7 and 9. This pamphlet, like that of Mr. Reed, contains letters which were withheld from inclusion in Dr. Rusk's edition of the letters. In addition to the correspondence between Emerson and Dr. Morison, it prints several newspaper accounts of Emerson lectures.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Rusk, *Letters,* VI, p. 193.

[125] *Ibid.*

known in Boston,[126] represented a breed of Baltimore intellectual quite unlike that formerly represented by his brother.

When Emerson entered the hall of the Peabody that evening, he enjoyed the honor of having the widest reputation of any speaker ever to enter the Institute.[127] He was, moreover, the crowning speaker of a group of the most distinguished and diversified lecturers ever to appear in one season in the city. Emerson's name was now added to those of James Russell Lowell, President Morton of the Stevens Institute, Dr. Hawkins of London, and Professor W. H. Niles of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and their subjects had been "Spencer," "Light," "Fossils," and "Oceanography," respectively.[128]

With "Imagination and Poetry" in hand, Emerson walked to the speaker's platform promptly at eight o'clock.[129] He stood out prominently. As ever he wore his black suit, characteristic of an earlier day; his body, always slender, was now delicate. His hair was white and long.[130] According to one reporter, Emerson had a stately appearance, ". . . with clean cut face, high forehead and sharp features."[131] Another observer, however, had a richer insight: "Mr. Emerson is not the gray-bearded philosopher which many persons suppose him to be. On the contrary, he has a young face for a man who has thought so long and deeply."[132]

Emerson began his lectures with "no preliminary,"[133] and he continued for over an hour.[134] He spoke in low tones, but his articulation was precise and amply made up for a more forceful delivery. He searched his manuscript, here he read a page, there he read a page. When he lost a page, he shrugged his shoulders. At times he took off his glasses and extemporized a sentence or two. One reporter remarked that when Emerson did this he had "the air of a careful apothecary who is compounding a prescription behind a pair of delicate scales. There

[126] Morison, *Nathaniel Holmes Morison,* p. 9.
[127] *Mr. Emerson Lectures,* p. 6.
[128] Morison, *Nathaniel Holmes Morison,* p. 10.
[129] The *Baltimore Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1872.
[130] *Mr. Emerson Lectures,* pp. 6-7.
[131] *Baltimore Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1872.
[132] *Baltimore American,* Jan. 3, 1872.
[133] *Baltimore Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1872.
[134] *Sun,* Jan. 3, 1872.

is a nicety of selection that is almost tedious." His subject, more than his audience, occupied his attention.[135]

Just two weeks later in New Jersey this manner of delivery was greeted with impudence from the audience,[136] but such was never the case in Baltimore. The audience, which was "densely crowded" with "intellectual and refined" people, showed respect throughout and listened with great attention. They applauded frequently.[137] And most of them did so, according to one observer, with the realization that they had not understood what Emerson was saying:

> The profoundest thinker in America read a lecture at the Peabody Institute last evening to an audience composed in part of people who faintly comprehended the argument and in part of people who only saw the beauty of the words. Ralph Waldo Emerson does not address himself to the average understanding; he talks from a somewhat higher plane, and is not what might be termed a *popular* lecturer. Every one appreciates the strength and elegance of his similes, and many of his epigrammatic sentences and proverbs full of homely wisdom, but to follow the line of discourse requires a degree of culture something beyond that which may be expected of every listener in a miscellaneous assembly.[138]

The reporter wrote better than he knew. For Emerson addressed himself not to man's understanding but to his higher faculty, reason.

Later published in essay form in *Letters and Social Aims* (1875),[139] "Imagination and Poetry" was an airy lecture indeed. Apparently it was too much so for the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser's* reporter. The reporter took notice of Emerson's appearance that first evening; he described the speaker and the audience in detail; but after

[135] *Baltimore American,* Jan. 3, 1872.

[136] Coad, "An Unpublished Lecture," p. 421.

[137] *Baltimore Gazette,* Jan. 3, 1872. See also *Sun,* Jan. 3, 1872.

[138] *Baltimore American,* Jan. 3, 1872.

[139] *Emerson's Works,* VIII, pp. 7-33. This volume was put together after Emerson had lost the full use of his memory. J. E. Cabot pointed out in the "Note" to the volume that the individual essays were put together from lectures, "but often without any completely recoverable order or fixed limits." Such was the case with Emerson's first two lectures. No strict "line of thought" comparison can be made. The order the two lectures followed in Baltimore was doubtless changed many times through loss of pages, changes in page order, and introduction of new pages from other lectures.

saying that Emerson was very difficult to comprehend, he said nothing of the lecture that night or any following.[140] Fortunately, however, the reporters from *The Sun* and the *Baltimore Gazette* weathered most of the performances, and their reports usually were detailed.

Emerson's talk ranged from political economy to symbols to prose poetry. He began by saying that the imagination was a higher faculty than the common sense. The latter concerned itself with matter; the former "creates impressions that form the great day of our life." So saying, he began discussing poetry. Then he reverted back to imagination—and so on. The reports clearly showed that, though the lecture was advertised as being in two parts, Emerson's lecture pages were not so arranged. It mattered little; almost every sentence was a self-contained thought and rarely were two sentences connected. Ideas were fired irregularly and in all directions:

> God Himself does not speak by prose, but gives man hints, impressions, etc.
> The lover sees in all things pictures of his beloved, the saint in everything material for devotion.
> Another essential quality for poetry is truth.
> Music is the poor man's Parnassus, we express our feelings thereat in music.[141]

With his lecture concluded and applause received, he retired to Barnum's.

The next two days were busy ones, for Emerson had to entertain and be entertained. As always, the current Unitarian clergyman—this time the Reverend Edward C. Guild—came to talk.[142] The Tiffanys, a family of artists, invited Emerson to see their drawings. And of course Dr. Morison gave him an open invitation to his home. On Thursday at Dr. Morison's Emerson received a letter which was to initiate one of the curious subplots of his visit in Baltimore. In it, Tom Ward, the son of one of Emerson's old friends, asked Emerson to call on a Miss Howard to present a suit of love on young Ward's behalf. To Lidian, Emerson wrote that he had seen a cousin of Miss Howard's at Dr. Morison's tea table, and then he

[140] *Baltimore American,* Jan. 3, 1872.
[141] *Sun,* Jan. 3, 1872.
[142] Rusk, *Letters,* VI, p. 193. See also *Wood's Baltimore City Directory,* 1872.

added: "I regret to learn that Miss Howard is a Catholic. What fatalities surround that noble youth! I grieve at the pain this fact will give his father." With the cousin acting as guide, Emerson made arrangements to act out this rare role on the 10th; needless to say, he was a "little uneasy" about playing the part.[143]

On Thursday evening Emerson presented his second lecture, "Resources and Inspiration."[144] If the newspaper reactions were any indication, his talk may have been too difficult, or as was unfortunately more likely, too dull to report. The *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* had already abandoned coverage, and now *The Sun* followed suit, though for this night only. The *Baltimore Gazette* printed a short summary of one hundred words, which at least indicated that the lecture had something of an outline. Emerson began by defining inspiration, and then he pointed out that the chief sources of inspiration were health, the will, nature, new books, and new poetry. To illustrate the meaning of inspiration, he read Goethe's "das Musenlied" in full. He concluded by urging people not to read newspapers for inspiration; for that purpose he recommended "fact-books."[145]

Of all nights to present what was probably the dullest of the four lectures, this night was a particularly bad choice. For, in addition to the presence of Emerson that January night, the Peabody boasted the presence of the man later to be recognized as the fountainhead of American poetry. Probably, though, no one except Emerson himself even recognized Walt Whitman, as his popularity had been slow in coming and was even now on the decline.[146] In a letter to Lidian, Emerson recorded the event in matter-of-fact brevity: ". . . at my second lecture Walt Whitman presented his picturesque person, with Mr. Burroughs the author of 'Wake-Robin,' Whitman bringing Sumner's invitation that I should come to him tomorrow."[147]

Burrough—like Whitman a government employee in Washington—had read that Emerson was lecturing in Baltimore and

[143] Rusk, *Letters,* VI, pp. 194-195 and 196-197. See also Scharf, *History of Baltimore,* p. 674.
[144] *Emerson's Works,* VIII, pp. 131-149 and 255-283.
[145] *Baltimore Gazette,* Jan. 5, 1872.
[146] Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer* (New York, 1967), p. 430.
[147] Rusk, *Letters,* VI, p. 193.

had "dragged" Whitman with him to the Peabody. In a letter to Myron Benton, Burroughs spoke of the experience of meeting Emerson that evening: ". . . he received me quite warmly, unusually so, Walt said, and, to my consternation, proceeded to put me at once on trial for a remark I had made about an observation of Thoreau's. . . ." When Burroughs explained that because he had not been in the "Maine Woods" he did not include the observation in "Wake-Robin," Emerson was "good-natured" about it and said that he had looked into Burroughs' book with much interest. Despite the warm meeting, Burroughs had some harsh thoughts on Emerson. In America Emerson's place was with those persons who were obsolete:

> Viewed in the light of the wants or needs of the American people today, and of the great questions and issues about us, nothing can be more irrelevant or pitiful than these lectures he is now delivering. It is like a wriggling of thumbs. I am utterly tired of these scholarly things, for my part.[148]

Whitman also thought the event worthy of note—but not very much so. Writing to Edward Dowden, Whitman said that Emerson had not changed his attitude in twenty-five or thirty years and added: "It seems to me pretty thin. Immense upheavals have occurred since then, putting the world in new relations."[149] And in another letter he wrote: "It all seems quite attenuated (the first drawing of a good pot of tea you know—and Emerson's was heavenly herb—but what must we say to a *second,* and even third or *fourth* infusion?)"[150] Whitman seemed to have lost a good deal of respect for Emerson since 1856, when Emerson's words of praise first appeared on the spine of *Leaves of Grass* in gold letters.[151]

The invitation which Whitman brought from Sumner was accepted. On Friday, January 5th, Emerson left for Washington and stayed at the Massachusetts congressman's home until the next Monday. Once again his visit to Washington overshadowed that to Baltimore; among those he met there

[148] Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* (Boston and New York, 1931), pp. 65 and 66.
[149] Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (Boston, 1906), p. 321.
[150] Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs,* p. 66.
[151] Allen, *The Solitary Singer,* p. 179.

were professors from the Smithsonian Institution, the Librarian of Congress, numerous congressmen, and even a foreign minister of state.[152]

On Tuesday night Emerson delivered his lecture titled "Homes and Hospitality,"[153] and the attendance was large. "To build houses," he began, "is the work of good sense." For the house is the citadel of friendship: ". . . you not only invite them to your bread, fire, etc., but also to your family, friends, pictures, books, and your thoughts and experience." From homes Emerson went to nature: "As was said by the Persian Sadi (sic)—'Little joy has he who has no garden.'" Adding: "Country life is the consolation of mortal man." Under the heading of "Hospitality" he ranged widely:

> Hospitality requires sincerity and good will, culture tends to increase it; this makes the winter warm and the summer pleasant.
> Let the boy's manhood be the continuation of his boyhood.
> Even political men now may exercise a talent for writing poetry.
> A man wants all his wisdom for the domestic problem.[154]

The next day Emerson doubtless felt that he needed "all his wisdom." Miss Howard's cousin came for him in late afternoon, and the two walked to Miss Howard's home. The cousin warned Emerson to expect to find someone who was "devoted to society, no recluse, no reader, indeed nothing marked." His apprehensions grew. Much to Emerson's surprise, however, Miss Howard received him with kindness and much grace. She was a good example of what Emerson had lectured about the night before:

> She is handsome, has good sense, perfect frankness, and listened eagerly to all I said to her of Tom's genius and character,—confessed to knowing little about him, but to loving him much. I believe my eyes watered a little in charging her to study and to cherish him as a lonely unknown treasure, and she showed curiosity and tenderness. I stayed to lunch. . . .

In the evening Miss Howard came to the Morison's for tea, and she later accompanied Emerson to his lecture that evening. To his daughter Ellen, he wrote: ". . . she talked with a

[152] Rusk, *Letters*, VI, pp. 195-196.
[153] This lecture has not been published in lecture or essay form.
[154] *Sun*, Jan. 10, 1872.

pleasing diffidence of herself. So I left her with good auguries"[155] Emerson now added one more warm relationship to the many which had preceded it.

The lecture he gave that night reiterated some of the ideas of the essay "Art" in *Society and Solitude* and was titled "Art and Nature."[156] According to *The Sun's* reporter, Emerson defined art as "the science of beauty." Thereafter, the reporter caught sentences which were short and sharp:

> Taste is the love and art the creation of beauty.
> Art is purely intellectual.
> It is nature that suggest [sic] the way to erect vast buildings.
> There is no such thing as chance in art.[157]

The *Baltimore Gazette* had this to say:

> Though his lectures can scarcely be called popular—for people generally of this generation regard but little the culture of art in Greece or Rome— they yet listen to Mr. Emerson as one who has attained to so great a degree of celebrity and to be able to say that they have heard him.[158]

[155] Rusk, *Letters,* VI, p. 197.
[156] *Emerson's Works,* VII, pp. 39-61.
[157] *Sun,* Jan. 12, 1872.
[158] *Baltimore Gazette,* Jan. 12, 1872.

WILSON'S LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By Lloyd E. Ambrosius

Historians of President Woodrow Wilson's role in the creation of the League of Nations have generally agreed that he sought to revolutionize American foreign policy. They have argued that he abandoned the tradition of isolationism in favor of active participation in world affairs. Noting the system of collective security which he attempted to establish through the League, they have concluded that the President departed radically from the historic policy of the United States.[1] This widely-held interpretation has overemphasized Wilson's departure from traditional American diplomacy. He abandoned American isolationism in part—but only in part. By his personal participation in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and by his vision of future American participation in the League of Nations, the President obviously altered the traditional policy. Never before had the American government shown such direct and extensive concern for the political and military

[1] For explicit statements of this thesis, see John Chalmers Vinson, *Referendum for Isolation: Defeat of Article Ten of the League of Nations Covenant* (Athens, Ga., 1961), pp. 1-2, 35, 96; Ruhl J. Bartlett, *The League to Enforce Peace* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944), pp. 52-55; Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse: Its Twentieth Century Reaction* (New York, 1957), pp. 92-95; Edward H. Buehrig, *Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power* (Bloomington, Ind., 1955), pp. 210, 238-43; Edward H. Buehrig, ed., *Wilson's Foreign Policy in Perspective* (Bloomington, Ind., 1957), pp. 42-53; Seth P. Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), pp. 101-08; Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson*, II: *World Prophet* (New York, 1958), pp. 27, 256-60; and Robert Endicott Osgood, *Ideals and Self-Interest in America's Foreign Relations: The Great Transformation of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 189, 244, 284-85. The same thesis is implicit in other major works, including Denna Frank Fleming, *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920* (New York, 1932), pp. 82-117; Arthur S. Link, *Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies* (Baltimore, 1957), pp. 95, 119-20, 134-39; Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* (New York, 1944), pp. 179-93; Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York, 1945), pp. 30-31; Daniel M. Smith, *The Great Departure: The United States and World War I, 1914-1920* (New York, 1965), pp. 123-29, 178-81; and Harley Notter, *The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 521-29. Roland N. Stromberg, *Collective Security and American Foreign Policy: From the League of Nations to NATO* (New York, 1963), pp. 22-45, and N. Gordon Levin, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution* (New York, 1968), pp. 179-83, recognize some of the limits of Wilson's departure from isolationism. Despite his explicit references to the revolutionary character of the League, Robert Osgood argues persuasively in *Ideals and Self-Interest* that the "great transformation" of American foreign policy came not under Wilson's leadership but rather awaited the Second World War.

situation in Europe and elsewhere in the world. Yet, far more than historians have recognized, Wilson's conception of the League of Nations and of the American role in world affairs continued to reflect the isolationist heritage of the American diplomatic tradition.

This interpretation of Wilson is not new. Walter Lippmann, who as the secretary of the Inquiry helped to formulate Wilson's peace program, recognized "the instinctive American isolationist view of Woodrow Wilson." Even while involving the nation in the war and while anticipating the creation of the League, the President retained the isolationist aversion to commitments in Europe. "Wilson," wrote Lippmann, "in spite of the complexity of his character and his mind, was moved by the old American feeling that America is a new land which must not be entangled with Europe."[2] The isolationist heritage continued to influence Wilson's view of the American role in world affairs during the drafting of the Covenant of the League at Paris. His conception of the League of Nations marked only the first, cautious step from traditional isolationism to the military and political commitments which the United States would later assume in NATO.

Wilson believed that American membership in the League would not entangle the United States in European politics because it represented a general commitment rather than a particular obligation. Paying homage to the American isolationist tradition, the President said at New York City on September 27, 1918, that

> we still read Washington's immortal warning against "entangling alliances" with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights.[3]

Wilson's belief that the League could guarantee the peace settlement without entangling the United States in European affairs rested in part on his conception of impartial justice for

[2] Walter Lippmann, *Men of Destiny* (New York, 1927), pp. 122-23.
[3] Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, eds., *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson: War and Peace* (2 vols.; New York, 1927), I, p. 258.

all nations. If the principle of national self-determination, as outlined in his Fourteen Points, were embodied in the peace settlement, Wilson assumed that the problem of enforcement would be minimal. Since such a settlement would render justice to vanquished as well as victor, the League could guarantee it without involving excessive commitments.

In the event that conflicts arose despite the fairness of the settlement, the President thought that moral suasion would most likely suffice to prevent aggression. At the University of Paris on December 21, 1918, he reviewed his position, saying:

> My conception of the league of nations is just this, that it shall operate as the organized moral force of men throughout the world, and that whenever or wherever wrong and aggression are planned or contemplated, this searching light of conscience will be turned upon them and men everywhere will ask, "What are the purposes that you hold in your heart against the fortunes of the world?" Just a little exposure will settle most questions. If the Central powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight, it never would have happened, and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it for a year, war would have been inconceivable.[4]

This exaggerated estimate of the power of moral suasion, as well as Wilson's conception of impartial justice, contributed to his belief that the League could guarantee the peace settlement without entangling the United States in European affairs.

Premier Georges Clemenceau and the French delegates on the League Commission at the Peace Conference looked with skepticism at Wilson's belief in the efficacy of justice and moral suasion as the principal foundation for an enduring peace. They wanted instead to create a League which would continue the wartime coalition against Germany. Desiring the League to be more than a super-parliament which could make decisions without the power to implement them, the French premier wanted to delegate executive authority to the organization and make it capable of action in the event of aggression.[5]

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 330.

[5] Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery of Victory* (New York, 1930), pp. 171-72, 198-99; The Diary of Edward M. House, Jan. 7, 1919, Edward M. House Papers, Yale University Library; Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (4 vols.; Boston, 1926-28), IV, pp. 269-70, 306-07; David Hunter Miller, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris* (21 vols.; New York, 1924), I, p. 26, Dec. 3, 1918.

Within the French Foreign Office Léon Bourgeois had headed a commission which formulated plans for such a League. On February 4, 1919, French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon wrote to Wilson, endorsing the recommendation of the Bourgeois commission. "The French Foreign Office Commission," he explained, "envisioned a League capable of applying effective military as well as diplomatic, juridical, and economic sanctions. That is, the League would be not merely a debating society but against aggression an effective alliance."[6] France, in short, sought to make the League into an anti-German alliance prepared for immediate military action at the direction of its executive.

Despite their differences over methods, Wilson shared with the French leaders the objective of making the League an effective guarantee against aggression. Having expressed that goal as the last of his Fourteen Points, the President pressed for its adoption at Paris as Article 10 of the Covenant. This provision, which Wilson regarded as "the key to the whole Covenant," was his most important contribution to that document. When the League Commission considered this article on February 6, he urged its acceptance despite British opposition and French skepticism. Under the provisions of Article 10, the members of the League would "undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." Robert Cecil, a British delegate, attempted to transform this article from a positive into a negative guarantee by an amendment which would remove the obligation for the mutual preservation of territorial integrity and political independence. As he had earlier when Secretary of State Robert Lansing had advanced the same idea, Wilson now rejected this proposal. With the failure of Cecil's amendment, Ferdinand Larnaude, a French delegate, proceeded to criticize Article 10 from the opposite side as "only a principle." He wanted the Covenant to stipulate some method for the implementation of the objective should that become necessary. In response to his demand, the Commission ultimately agreed that in the event of aggression the Council of the League of Nations should recommend the

[6] Pichon to Wilson, Paris, Feb. 4, 1919, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress; Léon Bourgeois, *Le Pacte de 1919 et la Société des Nations* (Paris, 1919), pp. 197-215.

means for the fulfillment of the obligation. In accordance with other parts of the Covenant, however, the Council could offer advice only with the unanimous approval of its members and even then the Council's decision would not bind the members of the League. In other words, if the United States had joined the League as Wilson planned, Article 10 would have imposed no definite obligations except those approved by the American government in the Council and then accepted by it as a recommendation from the Council. Even that kind of a commitment had seemed too strong for Cecil, while it appeared too weak for Larnaude. Wilson's position lay between those two extremes.[7]

Wilson never disclosed the precise degree to which he felt Article 10 would have obligated the United States to use military force to protect the members of the League against aggression. David Hunter Miller, who served as the legal adviser to the President during the drafting of the Covenant, wrote that "the very general notion that Article 10 of the Covenant is a guarantee against invasion is entirely erroneous."[8] Yet Wilson apparently regarded Article 10 as sufficiently binding to commit the United States to the employment of military force should that become necessary to prevent a repetition of the experience of the First World War. He made his most explicit assertions in response to statements by Larnaude and Bourgeois expressing concern for French security. The President affirmed, at a meeting of the League Commission on February 11, that:

> It must not be supposed that any of the members of the league will remain isolated if it is attacked, that is the direct contrary of the thought of all of us. We are ready to fly to the assistance of those who are attacked, but we cannot offer more than the condition of the world enables us to give.

He further asserted that:

> All that we can promise, and we do promise it, is to maintain our military forces in such a condition that the world will feel

[7] David Hunter Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant* (2 vols.; New York, 1928), I, pp. 168-69, and II, pp. 264, 430-31, 550; Robert Cecil, *A Great Experiment* (New York, 1941), p. 77; Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement* (3 vols.; Garden City, 1922), I, pp. 214-15, 219-23, 231; Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative* (Boston, 1921), pp. 34-54, 77-92, 106-07, 122-25; Lansing to Wilson, Paris, Dec. 23, 1918, Wilson Papers.

[8] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant*, I, p. 170.

> itself in safety. When danger comes, we too will come, and we will help you, but you must trust us. We must all depend on our mutual good faith.[9]

This latter statement, in which Wilson specifically mentioned military force with particular reference to France, doubtless explained his later willingness to join with David Lloyd George in offering France a security treaty. The President had broken from the isolationist tradition at least so far as western Europe was concerned.[10]

Although anticipating the possible future use of American military power in a situation similar to that of the First World War, Wilson remained vague and indefinite with regard to other circumstances and other parts of the world. During an address at Salt Lake City on September 23, 1919, when explaining the obligations the United States would assume under Article 10, he declared:

> If you want to put out a fire in Utah, you do not send to Oklahoma for the fire engine. If you want to put out a fire in the Balkans, if you want to stamp out the smoldering flame in some part of central Europe, you do not send to the United States for troops. The council of the League selects the powers which are most ready, most available, most suitable, and selects them only at their own consent so that the United States would in no such circumstances conceivably be drawn in unless the flame spread to the world. And would they then be left out, even if they were not members of the league?[11]

The President, in other words, anticipated no greater American military involvement in central or eastern Europe under Article 10 than if the Covenant had not been drafted.

Wilson hoped that the League could guarantee the national self-determination of its members through peaceful means rather than military force. In accordance with his view, which he shared with the British government, Articles 12-15 of the Covenant provided methods for the pacific settlement of dis-

[9] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 296-97.

[10] Baker, *World Settlement,* I, p. 288; Stephen Bonsal, *Unfinished Business* (Garden City, 1944), p. 29.

[11] Baker and Dodd, *War and Peace,* II, p. 351; for the relationship between Wilson's policy toward eastern Europe and the League, see John M. Thompson, *Russia, Bolshevism, and the Versailles Peace* (Princeton, 1966), pp. 240-41, and Address of the President to the Democratic National Committee, Feb. 28, 1919, Joseph P. Tumulty Papers, Library of Congress.

When Peace Came: Woodrow Wilson in Paris. *The Ladies' Home Journal,* 1919. *Maryland Historical Society*

putes between the members of the League. Article 12 obligated them to refrain from war until after one of three methods for a peaceful resolution of the conflict had been attempted. The League members might submit the issue to arbitration or to an international court (Article 13), or they might refer it to the Council (Article 15). These provisions did not provide for the compulsory settlement of disputes. The only obligation on the League members was that they attempt a settlement through one of the three pacific methods before resorting to war. As Cecil noted, "all that the Covenant proposed was that the members of the League, before going to war, should try all pacific means of settling the quarrel."[12] If the dispute were submitted to arbitration or to judicial settlement and one of the parties refused to accept the decision, the responsibility for implementing it devolved upon the Council of the League. From the perspective of the British and American representatives, how-

[12] Cecil, *Great Experiment,* p. 75.

ever, this obligation for the implementation of a decision appeared minimal. They assumed that the most serious disputes would not be submitted to arbitration or to an international court, but instead would go directly to the Council in accordance with Article 15. And the commitments under that article were strictly limited.[13]

On February 6 and 7, when the League Commission considered the provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes, the Belgian delegate, Paul Hymans, offered some substantial amendments to the Anglo-American draft of the Covenant. He wanted to empower the Council to recommend the settlement of a dispute by a majority rather than an unanimous decision. He thus hoped to avert the possibility that the opposition of a single member of the Council—in addition to the parties to the dispute since they were prohibited from voting—could prevent it from even recommending a settlement, for in that case the peace machinery of the League would break down. As his second amendment, the Belgian delegate sought to obligate the League members to accept a unanimous recommendation of the Council. In essence, he proposed compulsory arbitration in all cases where the Council reached unanimous agreement on the terms of the settlement.[14]

Both of the Belgian amendments received the support of the French delegates, who shared with Hymans the desire to strengthen the League Council. But neither Wilson nor Cecil conceded the American or British right of veto within the Council or accepted the principle of compulsory arbitration. The League Commission, failing to reach a final decision on the Belgian amendments, referred them to a subcommittee for further consideration. Prior to the meeting of the subcommittee, David Hunter Miller of the United States met with Eustace Percy of Great Britain to discuss the Belgian proposals and to coordinate the Anglo-American opposition. On the subcommittee, which included no American members, Robert Cecil represented the Anglo-American position with a fair degree of success. The report of the subcommittee, which was presented to the League Commission on February 10, excluded the provision for a majority recommendation by the Council. How-

[13] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant*, I, pp. 173-75.
[14] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 173-76, and II, pp. 268-69.

ever, in response to the second Belgian amendment, the report made a minor concession in the form of an addition to Article 15. This article already provided that in the event the Council rendered a unanimous recommendation for the settlement of a dispute, the members of the League should not go to war against any nation which complied with that decision. The subcommittee now added to this negative obligation the positive obligation that "if any party shall refuse so to comply [with a unanimous Council decision], the Council shall consider what steps can best be taken to give effect to their recommendation." At its meeting on the 10th, the League Commission adopted this part of the subcommittee's report for incorporation in Article 15 of the Covenant.[15]

Although temporarily accepting this positive obligation, President Wilson later moved to extract it from the Covenant. He wanted the Council to assume no responsibility for the enforcement of even a unanimous recommendation for the settlement of a dispute. His aversion to the enforcement of even a decision in which the United States would necessarily concur revealed the isolationist heritage in Wilson's conception of the League of Nations. At a private meeting with Cecil on March 18, with House and Miller also attending, the President proposed a revision of Article 15 to remove the positive obligation for enforcement which the League Commission had adopted on February 10. After securing the support of the British delegate, Wilson introduced this revision in the League Commission on March 24 and obtained its acceptance. Although the French delegates raised no issue on this point, the President's aversion to any obligations for the implementation of even an unanimous Council recommendation brought into question the extent to which he felt committed under Article 10. His position on Article 15 certainly showed that Wilson hoped to limit American obligations within the League.[16]

Hymans offered a third amendment which further clarified the limits of the obligations under Article 10. The Anglo-American draft had provided for sanctions by members of the League against any nation which resorted to war before attempting a settlement through one of the three pacific methods

[15] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 179-80, 192-95, and II, pp. 268-69, 282.

[16] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 290-92, 331, and II, pp. 350; Miller, *Diary*, I, pp. 176-88, March 18, 1919.

under Articles 12-15. The Belgian delegate now proposed the extension of these sanctions under Article 16 to cover a breach of Article 10 as well. President Wilson led the opposition to this amendment. He did not want the sanctions of Article 16, including the severance of commercial and financial relations and the prohibition of personal contacts, to apply to Article 10. He approved the employment of sanctions, including possible military force, for the limited purpose of requiring the parties to a dispute to submit it to arbitration, to an international court, or to the Council of the League. But he absolutely opposed any automatic sanctions against violators of Article 10, for he thought that guarantee might be fulfilled without the necessity of sanctions. The President succeeded in defeating the third Belgian amendment, thereby limiting the application of sanctions. Accordingly, the provisions for sanctions under Article 16 referred only to Articles 12-15, not to Article 10.[17]

During the drafting of the Covenant in February, 1919, the issue of disarmament revealed the sharpest divergence between the French and the Anglo-American conceptions of the League of Nations. President Wilson had, in the fourth of the Fourteen Points, called for the reduction of national military forces to "the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." The League and disarmament were complementary features of his peace program. With the guarantee of their political independence and territorial integrity under Article 10, Wilson believed the League members could reduce the size of their armed forces. Rather than facing the possible necessity of defending itself, each member would need a military force only for the maintenance of internal order and for the fulfillment of joint obligations under the Covenant. The establishment of the League would thus facilitate disarmament.[18] Lloyd George shared the President's view of the close relationship between the League and disarmament. At a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet on December 25, 1918, the British Prime Minister had said that "if the League of Nations did not include some provision for disarmament it would be regarded as a sham." He further asserted that "disarmament would be re-

[17] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, pp. 176-82, and II, pp. 269-70.
[18] Baker, *World Settlement,* I, pp. 219, 223, 344-59.

garded as the real test of whether the League of Nations was a farce, or whether business was meant." The British as well as the American government thus anticipated disarmament as a consequence of the formation of the League of Nations.[19]

While the American and British leaders looked toward disarmament under the League of Nations, the French government hoped to transform it into a military alliance. Clemenceau and the French members of the League Commission sought to maintain the effectiveness of the wartime coalition against Germany rather than to reduce the armed forces of the League members. The divergence between the Anglo-American and the French standards for measuring the success of the League became apparent during the consideration of Article 8 of the Covenant. On February 11 Bourgeois introduced two amendments which would have radically changed this disarmament article. In accordance with the French conception of the League as an alliance, he proposed the maintenance of an international force prepared for immediate military action. Secondly, he called for international control under the League of the military establishments of its members. This second amendment possessed the dual purpose of empowering the League to inspect disarmament and to require a nation to maintain adequate armed forces for the fulfillment of its obligations under the Covenant. The French thus desired the League to place minimum as well as maximum limits on the strength of national military forces.[20]

Within the League Commission, the French amendments encountered the hostile criticism of the American and British delegates. Although asserting the determination of the United States to fulfill its obligations under the Covenant, President Wilson strongly opposed either an international force or any international control of the military forces of the League members. He did not want to substitute "international militarism for national militarism." Nor did he wish to permit the control of any American armed forces by the League or to assume any responsibility for the inspection of the military establishments of other League members. In opposing the French amend-

[19] David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* (2 vols.; New Haven, 1939), I, pp. 420-21.

[20] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant*, I, p. 207, and II, pp. 291-92; Bourgeois, *Le Pacte de 1919*, pp. 205-08; Baker, *World Settlement*, I, p. 362.

ments, Wilson sought to minimize the definite commitments for enforcement under the Covenant. Like Lloyd George, he identified the League with disarmament rather than with extensive military obligations for the enforcement of the peace settlement. This Anglo-American conception ran directly counter to the French view. "The idea of an international force," asserted Larnaude in defense of the French amendments, "is bound up with the very idea of the League of Nations, unless one is content that the League should be a screen of false security." The French government cared little whether the League permitted or required its members to disarm as long as it afforded security to them. From the French perspective, the enforcement of the peace settlement, not disarmament, should serve as the standard for measuring the success of the League. And to achieve that purpose, the French leaders believed the League needed a military force ready for immediate action.[21]

Failing to reach agreement on February 11, the League Commission referred the French amendments to the drafting committee which met on the following day. At that time Cecil frankly told Larnaude that France should drop her amendments and appreciate the more limited commitments which the United States and Great Britain were prepared to offer. He warned the French delegate that the American—and to a lesser extent the British—government might ignore altogether the problems of Europe unless France accepted the assistance of the United States and Great Britain on their own terms. As a partial concession, Cecil renewed the proposal, which he had made in the League Commission on the previous day, to create a permanent commission under the League to advise on military questions. That commission would possess no power either to effect disarmament or to coordinate military planning by the members of the League; it could only offer advice. This British proposal fell so far short of the French desire for international supervision of the military forces of the League members that Larnaude refused to accept it.[22]

[21] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, pp. 209-10, and II, pp. 293-97; Lloyd George, *Memoirs,* I, pp. 424-25; Baker, *World Settlement,* I, pp. 268-369.

[22] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, pp. 216-17, and II, p. 296; Miller, *Diary,* I, pp. 119-20, Feb. 12, 1919; Cecil, *Great Experiment,* pp. 78-79; Baker, *World Settlement,* I, pp. 374-75.

Woodrow Wilson. *The Ladies' Home Journal,* 1917.
Maryland Historical Society

Since the drafting committee failed to resolve the issue, the French amendments again came before the League Commission on February 13. At this session the French delegates continued to press their amendments, while Cecil urged the acceptance of his limited proposal of a permanent commission. In the absence of Wilson, Colonel House supported the British position but without taking an active part in the discussion. Bourgeois and Larnaude, advocating the amendment which provided for the control or verification of the military establishments of the League members, noted that the provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes and for sanctions assumed that even the League members might violate the Covenant. To guard against that danger, Bourgeois urged the adoption of international inspection. He said that

> by a thorough-going supervision of armaments the League of Nations would discourage any attempt at war. On the other hand, if such verification were not established every ambitious

> State, or State of imperialistic leanings, would have plenty of time to organise itself secretly and to proceed with a sudden attack. War would be encouraged by the lack of such verification.[23]

The League Commission, however, rejected this French amendment in favor of Cecil's proposal for a permanent commission. In accordance with this decision, Article 9 of the Covenant provided for the creation of a permanent commission to advise the Council concerning disarmament and military questions generally.[24]

After their initial failure, the French delegates next urged the formation of an international force. Reviewing the proposal, Bourgeois said that because of "the risk of sudden aggressions," the French government

> insisted upon the necessity of having certainly and constantly not only an international army, but national contingents of the different associated nations ready to act because if we wait until concerted action be established between various military authorities . . . , it is certain that very much time will elapse before the associated contingents become effective.[25]

In support of this French amendment, Larnaude argued that the effectiveness of the League as a deterrent against war depended upon its preparation for military action. If the League were to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of its members, it needed to be an effective military alliance. "Unfortunately," he said, "right by itself can do nothing but enhance great injustices." Accordingly, the French delegates advocated the establishment of at least a general staff under the League to prepare for immediate military operations in the event of aggression. This French amendment for military preparedness, and the conception of the League which it assumed, conflicted directly with the Anglo-American view. "The League of Nations," asserted Cecil, "could not be considered as an alliance against Germany. Nothing would more quickly imperil peace." Again the Anglo-American conception of the League prevailed. The League Commission voted to

[23] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* II, p. 319.
[24] *Ibid.,* I, pp. 243-53, and II, pp. 317-19; Cecil, *Great Experiment,* pp. 78-79; Bonsal, *Unfinished Business,* pp. 52-53.
[25] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, pp. 253-54.

reject the French amendment, thereby excluding any military planning by the League in advance of a crisis. In harmony with Wilson's view, the League Commission relegated military force to a distinctly secondary position in the maintenance of the peace settlement.[26]

After the completion of the drafting of the Covenant, President Wilson, as chairman of the League Commission, presented it to the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference on February 14, 1919. Describing the general character of the League, he noted that "throughout this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and that is the moral force of the public opinion of the world." Moral suasion, in accordance with the Anglo-American conception, would serve as the principal method for the enforcement of the Covenant. Yet he observed that military force might play a role in the League. "Armed force," said the President, "is in the background in this programme, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a League of War." Despite the lack of emphasis on military force and the indefinite character of the obligations of the Covenant, Wilson thought the League would maintain peace and prevent aggression. Referring to the Covenant, he said that "while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression."[27]

The President had still not convinced the French leaders that the League would fulfill the goals which he proclaimed. At the Plenary Session, Bourgeois observed that France shared the principles of political independence and territorial integrity. "If, however, we wish these principles to triumph, if we wish them to be guarded by effective guarantees," he asserted, "it is not enough to proclaim them—we must further organize a system of jurisdiction and action alike in order to defend

[26] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 253-60, and II, pp. 320-21; Bonsal, *Unfinished Business*, pp. 54-55.

[27] Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (13 vols.; Washington, 1942-47), III, pp. 212-13.

them." Accordingly, he reiterated the French arguments in favor of the verification of disarmament, and he renewed the French plea for the establishment of an international force. To achieve its goals, the French leaders thought the League needed to become an effective alliance with the capacity to take immediate military action. Yet this advice failed to convince either Wilson or Lloyd George that the Covenant needed revisions.[28]

Later that month, André Tardieu, Clemenceau's closest associate and adviser at the Peace Conference, drafted a memorandum on the problem of French security. In this memorandum, dated February 25, Tardieu offered an explicit criticism of the League as outlined in the Covenant. He noted that the methods for the pacific settlement of disputes and for sanctions applied only to the members of the League. Although other nations such as Germany might, under Article 17 of the Covenant, assume the responsibilities of membership for the purpose of settling a particular controversy, they had no obligation to do so. The cooling-off period, during which Wilson thought moral suasion could effect a settlement, might therefore never begin. But even if Germany became a League member, the French leaders feared the possibility of a sudden attack. Although granting that the League would ensure final victory in the event of future German aggression, Tardieu pointed to the failure of the Covenant to provide methods for an immediate military response. He warned that before any American troops could be sent to aid France, the Council of the League would need to reach a decision, the President must concur in the recommendation and deliver a message to the Congress, the Congress must then declare war, and finally the United States would have to mobilize a military force and transport it to Europe. This delay would place a premium on a sudden attack. Tardieu here touched upon a most devastating criticism of the Anglo-American conception of the League of Nations. Wilson and Cecil argued that the League would maintain peace and prevent aggression primarily by providing for a cooling-off period during which moral suasion could operate. Yet by making no provision for an immediate military response, the Covenant encouraged a potential aggressor

[28] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 219-24; Diary of Edward M. House, Feb. 14, 1919.

to mount a sudden attack. In short, the provisions for the pacific settlement of a dispute through a delay and the operation of moral suasion would work as long as nations adhered to the Covenant, but would break down as soon as they defied the League. The League would then fail as "a definite guarantee of peace" and "against aggression" at the very moment when its guarantees were most needed. Tardieu consequently called for the separation of the Rhineland from Germany and for the occupation of this territory by Allied troops, but failed to convince the American and British governments of the necessity for these military measures.[29]

Following the presentation of the Covenant to the Plenary Session on February 14, President Wilson returned to the United States for a month. Here he encountered criticism of the League from members of the Senate. In the hope of overcoming this opposition, the President, upon his return to Paris, sought revisions of the Covenant. He hoped to clarify the terms of that document without making any basic changes in the character of the League. Accordingly, he secured provisions which permitted the members of the League to withdraw upon two years' notice and which prohibited the League from interfering in the domestic affairs of its members. As the most important revision, Wilson called for the explicit recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. Before the League Commission, he defended this change by saying that

> the Covenant provides that the members of the League will mutually defend each other in respect of their political and their territorial integrity. This Covenant is therefore the highest tribute to the Monroe Doctrine, for it is an international extension of that principle by which the United States said that it would protect the political independence and territorial integrity of other American States.[30]

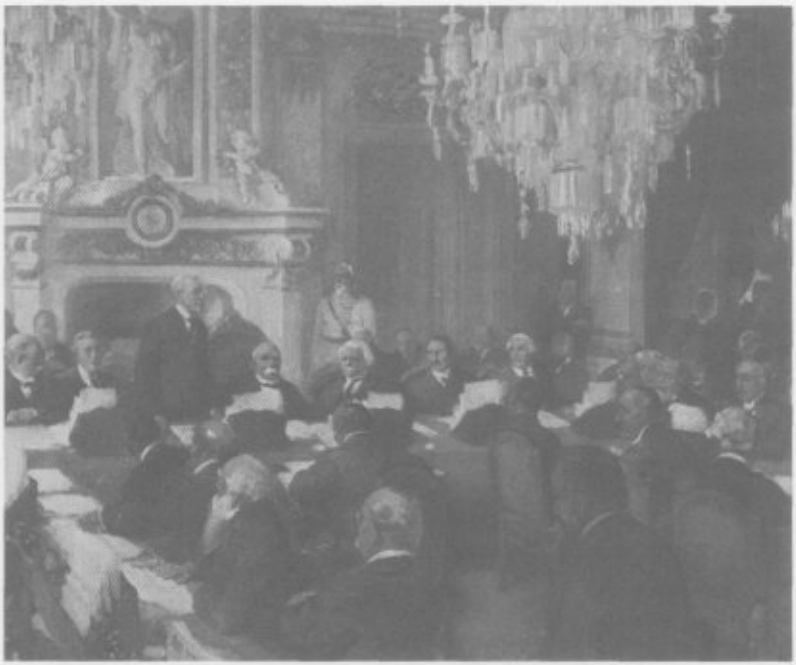
On April 10 the President introduced an amendment to Article 10 which mentioned the Monroe Doctrine by name and stated that nothing in the Covenant conflicted with its validity. This proposal provoked criticism especially from the French delegates, who feared that the recognition of the Mon-

[29] André Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty,* (Indianapolis, 1921), pp. 158-61; Rhineland Question, Feb. 26, 1919, Wilson Papers.
[30] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, p. 444.

roe Doctrine would justify traditional American isolationism. "It would certainly be very unfortunate," said Larnaude, "if the Monroe Doctrine should be interpreted to mean that the United States could not participate in any settlement of European affairs decided upon by the League." Wilson sought to convince the French delegates that the specific recognition of the Monroe Doctrine would not result in American indifference toward European affairs. Although he maintained the distinction between the Old and New Worlds, the President had departed from the isolationist tradition to the extent that he recognized a relationship between American and French security. "I again assure M. Larnaude," he pledged, "that if the United States signs this document it is solemnly obliged to render aid in European troubles when the territorial integrity *of European States is threatened by external aggression.*" Robert Cecil, recognizing that a part of the French objection to the amendment stemmed from its connection with Article 10, suggested that the reference to the Monroe Doctrine be made in a separate article. The amendment would then avoid the appearance of weakening Article 10. In accordance with Cecil's recommendation, the League Commission, on the following day, adopted Wilson's amendment as Article 21 of the Covenant.[31]

During March and April of 1919, while Wilson sought revisions of the Covenant to meet the Senate objections, the French delegates renewed their pleas for military preparedness under the League. Having retreated from their earlier demand for an international force, they wanted now at least the formation of a general staff. Even if the League could not take military action on its own initiative, the French leaders hoped it at least could prepare advance plans. The American members of the League Commission continued to react strongly against this proposal. Following a private meeting with Bourgeois, Colonel House expressed his opposition in his diary. "What he wants," recorded House, "that is what the French want, is to make the League an instrument for war instead of an instrument for peace. Also to make it a league against Germany and for the benefit of France. They desire to create a general staff with

[31] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 442-61, and II, pp. 369-74, 381-84; Miller, *Diary*, I, pp. 234-39, Apr. 10, 1919; Bonsal, *Unfinished Business*, pp. 182-85; Diary of Edward M. House, Apr. 11-12, 1919; Seymour, *Intimate Papers*, IV, 424-25.



Peace Conference in Paris. From a Painting by Karl Anderson.
The Ladies' Home Journal, 1919.
Maryland Historical Society

authority to plan all sorts of military defenses, invasions and whatnot."[32] Although opposing the French conception of the League as an alliance, House envisioned some future American participation in European affairs through the League. Indeed, he said, "the only excuse we could give for meddling in European or world affairs was a league of nations through which we hope to prevent wars. If that was not to be, then we would not care to mix again in their difficulties."[33] This conception of the League revealed an instinctive isolationism, for it assumed that the United States could refrain from participation in European or world affairs. House reflected Wilson's view of the League. The President opposed any obligations beyond those which had been incorporated in the Covenant before February

[32] Diary of Edward M. House, March 16, 1919.
[33] *Ibid.,* March 24, 1919.

14. With the support of House and Cecil, he rejected the French proposal for a general staff.[34]

On April 28 the League Commission reported the Covenant to the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference for final action. At this time Bourgeois continued to criticize the Covenant which incorporated the Anglo-American rather than the French conception of the League. He said that advocates of the League such as Wilson

> asked that the most complete liberty should be left to each nation; according to them the settlement of conflicts by pacific methods did not become obligatory, nor was any operative penalty to be imposed on a State which failed in the obligations which it had undertaken; they relied essentially on the moral influence which opinion througout the world would exercise, thanks to the public deliberations of the International Council, in order to insure the free consent of each State to the execution of the measures recommended on behalf of them all. There were grounds for fearing that a conception of this kind could only lead to ineffective results.[35]

To increase the effectiveness of the League in the enforcement of the peace settlement, Bourgeois once again introduced the French amendments for the verification of disarmament and for the establishment of a general staff. But the Plenary Session, like the League Commission earlier, rejected these proposals. The Covenant of the League of Nations, as finally adopted, remained substantially that of February 14 except for the revisions which Wilson had introduced. And even those changes had not altered the basic character of the League.[36]

Within the American Commission, President Wilson had failed to convince all of the delegates of the efficacy of his League. Henry White, a career diplomat and the one Republican member of the delegation, doubted that the League would become an effective deterrent against aggression and war. Though always loyal to the President and distrustful of French

[34] Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, pp. 324-25, 350-51, and II, pp. 537-38; Bonsal, *Unfinished Business,* pp. 161-67.

[35] *Foreign Relations: Paris Peace Conference,* III, pp. 294-95.

[36] *Ibid.,* III, pp. 285-332; Miller, *Drafting the Covenant,* I, pp. 495-98, and II, pp. 695-743; Miller, *Diary,* I, p. 278, Apr. 28, 1919; Bonsal, *Unfinished Business,* pp. 210-14; Cecil, *Great Experiment,* pp. 99-100; Diary of Edward M. House, Apr. 28, 1919.

motives, he shared the French skepticism about the League. White believed Wilson had failed at the Paris Peace Conference "because he is a one-idea man, and thought the League of Nations would be the sovereign panacea for the world's tragedy which he could not prevent, but a repetition of which he hoped might be thereby prevented; and he staked everything on its establishment."[37]

Secretary of State Robert Lansing shared White's conviction that the President attached too much importance to the League. Yet his criticism, unlike White's, showed no appreciation for the French position. Rather than opposing the potential ineffectiveness of the League, Lansing denounced it as an alliance. Especially critical of Article 10, he thought the Covenant provided for the continuation of the wartime coalition of the major powers in violation of the principle of equality of all nations, small as well as great. He opposed a League in which the major powers would play the leading roles. Lansing believed Wilson had betrayed his earlier vision of the League and had fallen into the snare of European diplomacy. On May 6, 1919, the Secretary of State recorded his objections to Wilson's League. "Even the measure of idealism, with which the League of Nations was at first impregnated," wrote Lansing,

> has, under the influence and intrigue of ambitious statesmen of the Old World, been supplanted by an open recognition that force and selfishness are primary elements in international cooperation. The League has succumbed to this reversion to a cynical materialism. It is no longer a creature of idealism. Its very source and reason have been dried up and have almost disappeared. The danger is that it will become a bulwark of the old order, a check upon all efforts to bring man again under the influence *of idealism,* which he has lost.[38]

In his account of *The Peace Negotiations,* Lansing summarized the differences between his and Wilson's conceptions of the League of Nations. "The mutual guaranty" of Article 10, he wrote,

[37] White to Countess Seherr-Thoss, Aug. 6, 1922, quoted in Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1930), p. 487; see also White to J. W. Davis, Paris, March 18, 1919, John W. Davis Papers, Yale University Library.

[38] Diary of Robert Lansing, May 6, 1919, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

> from its affirmative nature compelled in fact, though not in form, the establishment of a ruling group, a coalition of the Great Powers, and denied, though not in terms, the equality of nations. The oligarchy was the logical result of entering into the guaranty or the guaranty was the logical result of the creation of the oligarchy through the perpetuation of the basic idea of the Supreme War Council. No distinction was made as to a state of war and a state of peace. Strongly opposed to the abandonment of the principle of the equality of nations in times of peace I naturally opposed the affirmative guaranty and endeavored to persuade the President to accept as a substitute for it a self-denying or negative covenant which amounted to a promise of "hands-off" and in no way required the formation of an international oligarchy to make it effective.[39]

By his distrust of Old World diplomacy and by his opposition to Article 10, Secretary Lansing adhered to traditional American isolationism more resolutely than the President himself. Although White and Lansing privately expressed disapproval of Wilson's conception of the League, neither of them offered constructive alternatives.

General Tasker H. Bliss, the fifth member of the American Commission, generally approved Wilson's League and consequently offered neither criticism nor alternatives. Although recognizing the lack of confidence among French leaders in the League of Nations, Bliss merely advised them to strengthen their faith. He explained:

> One can only say to them to have faith in a League of Nations and to heartily work for the establishment of such a League, which will put the power of the world behind every state that is threatened with wanton aggression. But to this they only shrug their shoulders. They do not seem to have the slightest real faith in the efficacy of a League of Nations.[40]

When referring to "the power of the world," Bliss, although a four-star general, thought no more in military terms than Wilson. He had earlier written that

[39] Lansing, *Peace Negotiations,* pp. 166-167.

[40] Bliss to Newton D. Baker, March 19, 1919, quoted in David F. Trask, "General Tasker Howard Bliss and the 'Sessions of the World,' 1919," *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LVI, Part 8 (1966), p. 33; see also Bliss to American Peace Commission, Paris, Feb. 26, 1919, Tasker Howard Bliss Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

> I am of those who believe that disarmament and a League of Nations go hand in hand. There can be no fair and free discussion of anything till that is settled . . . . The American principle, I am inclined to think, is a League of Nations with equal representation. How can you give equal representation with some nations weak and other with millions of trained soldiers or fleets of battleships or both?[41]

General Bliss thus shared the President's conviction that the League could achieve its purpose without relying heavily on military power.

A fundamental dichotomy characterized Wilson's conception of the League of Nations. On the one hand, he stressed the goals which he thought the League would achieve, while on the other he emphasized the lack of any definite obligation for the use of military force to achieve such goals. In reporting the Versailles Treaty, including the Covenant, to the Senate on July 10, 1919, the President said that the League would create "such a continuing concert of free nations as would make wars of aggression and spoilation [*sic*] such as this that has just ended forever impossible."[42] Yet in a subsequent report to the Senate on July 29, Wilson noted that "the Covenant of the League of Nations provides for military action for the protection of its members only upon advice of the Council of the League—advice given, it is to be presumed, only upon deliberation and acted upon by each of the governments of the member States only if its own judgment justifies such action."[43] Wilson attempted to escape from the dichotomy inherent in the League by resorting to the distinction between a moral and a legal commitment. At a conference with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 19, he asserted that

> the United States will, indeed, undertake under article 10 to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league," and that engagement constitutes a very grave and solemn moral obligation. But it is a moral, not a legal, obligation, and leaves our Congress absolutely free to put its own interpretation upon it in all cases that call for action. It is binding in conscience only, not in law.[44]

[41] Bliss to Sidney Mezes, Paris, Dec. 26, 1918, Bliss Papers.
[42] *Congressional Record,* 66 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2338.
[43] *Ibid.,* p. 3310.
[44] *Ibid.,* p. 4014.

Republican Senators William Borah, Philander Knox, and Warren G. Harding focused the attention of the Committee on the discrepancy between the goals and the methods of Wilson's League. They recognized that as a matter of policy the United States and other members of the League either would or would not be obligated to take military action in the event of external aggression against a League member. If they were obligated, as Wilson claimed when he spoke of the moral commitment, then the United States would not enjoy the freedom of choice which the President asserted when he referred to legal commitments. On the other hand, if the League members were not obligated to use military force, then the League would not possess the value of a deterrent which Wilson claimed for it. In short, they recognized that the League could not guarantee the objectives which Wilson proclaimed without involving more obligations than the Covenant specified. For them the President's compromise between the departure from and the adherence to the American isolationist tradition was inadequate, for the League would either involve more obligations than they desired or fail to guarantee the national self-determination of all its members.[45]

At the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, President Wilson had obviously modified the American isolationist tradition. His concern for the political and military affairs of Europe and his plan for American participation in the League of Nations documented that fact. But the departure was not complete, for the Covenant lacked precise commitments except of a limited nature. The President retained an instinctive isolationist aversion to involvement in the politics of the Old World. During the drafting of the Covenant, he succeeded in limiting the legal obligations which the United States would have assumed in becoming a member of the League. He reserved in particular the complete freedom of choice in the use of military force. Although he had abandoned the isolationist tradition to the extent that he endorsed a separate treaty guaranteeing French security against German aggression, Wilson avoided similar commitments elsewhere in the world. The Covenant of the League included no such definite obligation. During the conference with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 4017-19, 4025-27.

President acknowledged his instinctively isolationist attitude toward Europe. Senator Harry New asked, "was it the policy of the American delegates to avoid participation by the United States in strictly European questions and their settlement . . .?" In response, Wilson affirmed that "it certainly was our endeavor to keep free from European affairs."[46] His conception of collective security constituted only the first stage in the transition of American thought. With respect to military and political commitments in Europe, Wilson's League of Nations went beyond the total aversion of traditional isolationism but stopped far short of the definite obligations later assumed in NATO.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 4030.

OLD CAPITOL: EMINENCE TO INFAMY

By JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

HISTORICALLY speaking, no building in Washington ever had a more contrasting sixty-year life of fame and infamy than Old Capitol. Certainly none ever began on a note more hallowed—or ended on one more horrible. In this sense, the building that stood at the northeast corner of First and A Streets epitomizes the tragedy to the Union of the American Civil War.

The story begins in August, 1814, when English soldiers burned the U. S. Capitol. For almost a year thereafter, the Congress was left homeless. Yet a combination of public patriotism and private enterprise soon went into operation. Thirty-eight public-spirited citizens banded together into a corporation, sold $17,362 worth of stock, and commissioned the construction of a building that would provide at least temporary quarters for the two houses of Congress. The site chosen was a block east of the charred timbers of the Capitol.

In July, 1815, workmen began demolishing the Tunnicliff Tavern, which stood on the lot; and in the incredibly short period of six months, the largest privately constructed building in Washington was completed. Total cost of the brick structure was $25,000, exclusive of $5,000 which the Federal government contributed to furnish the interior in a reasonable eloquence befitting the Congress. The Senate Chamber, 45 by 15 feet dominated the first floor; the House Chamber, 75 by 45 feet, occupied the center portion of the second floor. For these quarters, the government paid an annual rent of $1,650.

The building served as the nation's capitol until 1819, and it was on the steps of this imposing structure that James Monroe was inaugurated fifth President of the United States. After Congress returned to its renovated headquarters across First Street, the still new building that had been its home became known out of distinction as "Old Capitol." It was used thereafter for a time as a school; by the 1830's, however, it was Mrs.

H. V. Hill's fashionable hotel. So many politicians (plus "dashing young men and transient bachelors") frequented the establishment that it was known popularly as the "Congressional Boarding House." It was there, in the summer of 1850, that the inimitable John C. Calhoun died.[1]

The boardinghouse soon closed and for a decade remained unoccupied. When the Federal government in 1861 confiscated the building for use as a prison, it possessed little vestige of past grandeur. "Decayed walls, broken partitions, and creaking doors and stairways" were its leading characteristics. One writer of that time referred to Old Capitol as "a vast brick building, somber, chilling, and repellent;" another noted that because of its dingy, timeworn condition, it "closely resembled the Negro jails in Richmond."[2]

Why authorities selected a rundown structure only a block from the Capitol as the site for a prison remains a mystery. In any event, the government also purchased a series of nearby houses known as "Duff Green's Row," renamed them "Carroll Prison," and made these buildings an annex to the old boardinghouse. Enclosing the other two sides of the square with a twelve-foot-high wooden fence completed the compound known thereafter as Old Capitol Prison.

Composite accounts by a number of inmates provide a rather detailed picture of Old Capitol and its adjunct buildings.[3] Dominating the whole complex was Old Capitol itself. The main entrance, on First Street, led into a large hall that served as a guardroom. To the right, off the hall, were two rooms used for searching and interrogating all incoming prisoners. To the left of the hallway was a "dirty, dismal" room that constituted

[1] Much controversy still surrounds the background of Old Capitol. The account here was compiled largely from Wilhelmus B. Bryan, *A History of the National Capital from Its Foundation through the Period of the Adoption of the Organic Act* (New York, 1914-1916), I, pp. 636-37; Lucille Griffith (ed.), "Fredericksburg's Political Hostages," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXII (1964), p. 398; and Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865* (New York, 1941), pp. 134-35. For contrasting data, based for the most part on hearsay, see James J. Williamson, *Prison Life in the Old Capitol and Reminiscences of the Civil War* (West Orange, N. J., 1911), pp. 20-22; Louis A Sigaud, *Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy* (Richmond, 1944), p. 77.

[2] Leech, *Reveille in Washington,* p. 141; Sigaud, *Belle Boyd,* p. 74; Griffith, "Fredericksburg's Political Hostages," p. 404. See also *The Annals of the War, Written by Leading Participants North and South* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 503.

[3] For example, see John A. Marshall, *American Bastile* (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 322-23, 326-28, 331; Williamson, *Prison Life in the Old Capitol,* pp. 22-25, 42-43, 54-55, 86; Leech, *Reveille in Washington,* p. 142.

the mess hall. It was noted more for its filth than for its cuisine. The principal stairway was at the end of the hall. On the midway landing of the steps was a single office occupied by the prison superintendent.

The second floor contained five rooms (Numbers 14-18) created from the former chambers of the Congress. Incarcerated Federal officers occupied one of the cells; recalcitrant Virginians were in three others; and the central room, Number 16, was reserved for influential political prisoners and was noted for the large arched window situated over the entrance on First Street.

According to one embittered inmate, the small rooms were filled with three-tiered bunks along the walls and "filth of every imaginable kind, and entirely destitute of any furniture or other accomodations indispensable to the humblest cabin." This is an exaggeration, for each room contained what another prisoner termed "pine tables, chairs, benches, and other home-made apologies for seats." The bunks were so constantly invested with vermin that prisoners customarily slept on the tables and floor.[4]

The third floor of Old Capitol was either an afterthought or an attic. The rooms were exceedingly small and low-ceilinged. Ventilation was poor; mold, must and heat were oppressive; and when ten men were not jammed into one of these five-bunk rooms, the quarters were used as solitary confinement cells. Beneath Old Capitol was a two-roomed basement used initially to house Confederate soldiers captured in battle. In December, 1862, the Southerners were moved out and the rooms permanently converted into laundries.

Behind Old Capitol was a yard intended to provide ample space for exercise. However, transfer of Confederate prisoners to this area during periods of overcrowding made it one of the least enjoyable spots in the prison. Half of the yard was paved with cobblestones; the other half varied between a dust-bowl and a quagmire, depending upon the weather. On the opposite side of the yard was a two-story wooden building that housed the hospital and apothecary. Next to it—in flagrant

[4] Marshall, *American Bastile*, p. 323; Williamson, *Prison Life in the Old Capitol*, p. 42.

ignorance of sanitation—were the "sinks," as latrines were then called.

The sinks, wrote one prisoner, "consisted of wide trenches, partially covered over, but open in front, with long, wooden rails, on which the eighteen or twenty persons using them were obliged to stand. The accumulated excrement—for months, of several hundred men, many of whom were suffering from diseases of the intestines produced by these sinks—sent forth an offensive effluvium that poisoned the atmosphere of the whole prison, and disgusted the sickened senses of its inmates." Another prisoner described the situation more succinctly: "The presence of these sinks . . . did not contribute to the beauty of the scenery or add sweetness to the tainted air."[5]

What set Old Capitol apart from all other prisons of the Civil War was not its location, background or facilities as much as it was the indescribable heterogeneity of its prisoners. No stranger conglomerate of people ever occupied the same compound. Inmates covered the full range of humanity: male and female, black and white, young and old, soldier and civilian, millionaire and vagrant, the brilliant and the retarded, the sadistic and the senile, as well as the guilty and the innocent. That each of the above classes received basically the same treatment in Old Capitol explains why the prison was continually likened to the infamous Bastile of the French Revolution.

Originally, Old Capitol was intended only for prisoners of war; and while Confederate soldiers always formed the largest block of inmates, the prison came to be the chief depository for political offenders (so-called "suspects and enemies of the state"), plus smugglers, kidnappers, counterfeiters, bounty-jumpers, Negro contraband, and Northern soldiers accused of major crimes.

Indeed, a sampling from the Prison's records of charges filed against persons confined in Old Capitol runs the full gauntlet of misbehavior: bushwhacker, contrabandist, guerilla, carrying goods South, disloyalty and stoning guards, rebel spy, awaiting sentence for treason, dealer in Confederate money, murdering and robbing Federal soldiers, kidnapper, furnishing information which led to the murder of Union pickets, deserter and

[5] Marshall, *American Bastile,* p. 330; Williamson, *Prison Life in the Old Capitol,* p. 55.

spy, persecuting Union men, refusal to take the oath, abusive language, damaging Long Bridge, burning commissary stores, aiding and piloting deserters, and burning barges. Others were arrested on hazier charges: suspicious character, a crazy wanderer, showing "secesh" sentiments, or a "rabid rebel." Beside the names of many prisoners was a simple notation: "Committed by Sec. of War."[6]

In March, 1862, fifteen women were listed among Old Capitol's inmates. Two of them had been jailed for being "notorious prostitutes."[7] Conversely, when in September of that year 170 Federal deserters were brought to Old Capitol, the prison superintendent exploded with rage. "God damn them!" he shouted to the guards. "Take them down to the Navy Yard, and shoot every damn son of a bitch of them!" Fortunately, higher authorities intervened before the order could be executed, and the soldiers were admitted to the already crowded prison.[8]

Probably the most pathetic of Old Capitol's occupants were persons arrested for voicing political opinions contrary to those of the Lincoln administration. A Virginian so imprisoned noted: "Many persons confined here were arrested, robbed of everything they possessed, and kept merely on suspicion for weeks, and even months, without examination or trial, and sometimes, after an examination and no proof of charges, being still detained."[9] Another writer commented:

> Hundreds of persons were subjected to military arrest and detention without formal accusation or trial. It was an easy, though illegal, way to render them harmless, and whenever further detentions became useless, military commissions released them informally without establishing their innocence or their guilt. That their constitutional civil rights were violated was officially neither of concern nor [of] consequence.[10]

[6] James G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* (New York, 1945-1955), III, pp. 206-07.

[7] U. S. War Dept. (comp.), *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. II, Vol. II, pp. 237-38; V, p. 627. Cited hereafter as *Official Records;* all references are to Ser. II.

[8] Dennis A. Mahony, *The Prisoner of State* (New York, 1863), p. 225.

[9] Williamson, *Prison Life in the Old Capitol,* p. 42.

[10] Sigaud, *Belle Boyd,* p. 74. See also *Annals of the War,* p. 503.

Soldiers outside the Old Capitol Prison during the Civil War.
The Photographic History of The Civil War by Francis T. Miller.
Maryland Historical Society

Numbered among this group was a fifty-seven-year-old New York farmer named Joseph Kluger, who was sent to Old Capitol in 1862 for stating publicly that "Lincoln had no right to call out 75,000 troops without first convening Congress, and that if the South had her just dues there never would have been a rebellion." A Lieutenant McClune of the 135th Pennsylvania Infantry was confined in Old Capitol for four months because he voiced disapproval of the Emancipation Proclamation.[11] Dennis A. Mahony, an outspoken newspaper editor in Dubuque, Iowa, spent a good part of the war in Old Capitol as a result of his strong Democratic editorials. He was never arraigned or tried.

Mahony, who termed himself "a victim of partisan malignity, and of the despotism of Abraham Lincoln," wrote dejectedly in his diary in mid-September, 1862:

> Every effort the State Prisoners make to have their cases heard seems to be futile. There is an evident determination on the part of those who have assumed authority in the matter to give no satisfaction to the prisoners, nor to give them the least opportunity to be heard in their defense. A reign of terror and of despotism is as firmly established here as in any city on the globe.[12]

In the case of one political prisoner, the results proved disastrous for the Lincoln government. James W. Wall was a popular but Democratic political leader in New Jersey; and when he appeared to be gaining too much influence in the

[11] Marshall, *American Bastile,* pp. 127, 324.
[12] Mahony, *Prisoner of State,* p. 244.

approaching elections of November, 1862, he was arbitrarily arrested and thrown into Old Capitol. Incensed New Jerseyites responded by electing a Democratic governor, Democrats to four of five congressional seats—and, after Wall's release, sending him to the U. S. Senate.[13]

Old Capitol always had more than its share of strange and unique prisoners. Two inmates were kept in solitary confinement most of the time because each was completely insane. Mrs. L. A. McCarty of Philadelphia was arrested when she was discovered promenading on Washington streets while dressed as a man. (How this transvestite fared in Old Capitol is not known.) Another prisoner was John W. Smith, a roving eccentric known as "The Wandering Jew." He was over sixty-five years of age, blind in one eye, and apparently without home or friends. An inventive man who tinkered with contraptions, he developed the fundamentals of a timebomb—and went to Old Capitol as a result of it.

A Confederate sympathizer named Mrs. Baxley spent considerable time in Old Capitol. She was noted for her constant assailment of any and all guards who came within striking distance, and of the barroom tactics she employed in her many fights. A fellow inmate was Louisa P. Buckner, niece of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. Miss Buckner was briefly detained on charges of smuggling quinine into the Confederacy. It was not uncommon for women and their young children to be clapped together into cells. Many were imprisoned for simple refusals to take the oath of allegiance.[14]

Special mention must be made of the two most celebrated prisoners in Old Capitol's history. Both were female, and both were acknowledged Confederate spies.

First of the two to be imprisoned was Rose O'Neal Greenhow, widow of an influential Washingtonian who had been a confidant of James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun and others. Mrs. Greenhow was forty-four and the mother of four daughters when the Civil War began. Few espionage agents in all of American history possessed more skill, or more political influence, than she. Congressmen, high-ranking army officers, and

[13] George Fort Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column* (New York, 1942), p. 125.

[14] Marshall, *American Bastile*, pp. 242-44, 351; Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, pp. 312-14; Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, pp. 150-52, 158.

officials in every branch of the government were frequent guests in her elegant 16th Street home. They also and unknowingly were reliable sources of information for the enemy. The secrets that Mrs. Greenhow relayed to the Confederacy in the summer of 1861 enabled the South to win a smashing victory in the war's first major battle.

Secret Service agent Allen Pinkerton was then assigned to keep the widow under surveillance. Pinkerton soon reported that Mrs. Greenhow had "alphabets, numbers, ciphers, and various other ways of holding communication with the Confederate officials." On January 18, 1862, she was arrested and conveyed to Old Capitol. During her seven-month stay in the prison, she and her young daughter were the center of attention of guards and prisoners alike. Mrs. Greenhow was then banished from Union territory. She spent most of the ensuing two years in England on behalf of the Southern cause. During that time, she allegedly turned down a wedding invitation from the eminent Lord Granville.

On October 1, 1864, Mrs. Greenhow was en route home aboard a blockade-runner when a Federal gunboat intercepted the ship off the North Carolina coast. Mrs. Greenhow attempted to get ashore in a dinghy; but high waves overturned the craft and she drowned at sea. Her body was later recovered and returned to Washington, where it was buried with military honors.

Carl Sandburg wrote of Mrs. Greenhow that she was "a tall brunette with slumberous eyes . . . gaunt beauty, education, manners and resourceful speech. . . . Her proud loyalty to the South and her will and courage set her apart as a woman who would welcome death from a firing squad if it would serve her cause." Certainly Mrs. Greenhow's audacity was incalculable. Once, while sending secret messages to the Confederacy, she at the same time was pleading for the promotion of her son-in-law, a captain in the Union army![15]

The second noted Confederate spy confined in Old Capitol was the "Siren of the Shenandoah," the legendary Belle Boyd. A native of Martinsburg, Virginia and daughter of a Con-

[15] The best account of Mrs. Greenhow's stay in Old Capitol is her own memoir, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London, 1863). For editorialized excerpts from the recollections, see Katherine M. Jones, *Heroines of Dixie* (Indianapolis, 1955), pp. 61-66, 74-75, 249-54.

federate officer, she first attracted attention when she killed a Federal soldier who attacked her mother. Thereafter, Belle rode constantly through the Shenandoah Valley and gathered valuable information for General "Stonewall" Jackson. Late in July, 1862, Belle was finally captured; and Federal authorities wasted no time in dispatching her to Old Capitol.

She was then but nineteen. It would be dramatically fitting if one could compare Belle in appearance with Raquel Welch, Sophia Loren or Lana Turner. In truth, she had a marked resemblance to Judy Canova: slim build, sharply cut features and oversized teeth. Belle's first stay in Old Capitol lasted three months. While there she "played her role of Southern heroine with zest" by assisting three prisoners in a successful escape. She became "the darling" of the prison—so much so that confinement for her was practically a holiday. Food, attention and affection were showered upon her by all; and upon Belle's release, inmates took up a collection and bought her a gift which a Confederate officer presented to her weeks later in Richmond.

Following the battle of Gettysburg, Belle was again arrested and sent to Old Capitol. She spent seven months there under sentence of death, but then was exchanged for General Nathan Goff. Like Mrs. Greenhow, Belle was eventually exiled from the North. Later she married a Federal officer and ultimately moved to Wisconsin, where she died in 1890. She was given a military funeral—not by Southerners but by men and sons of men who had fought for the Union.

Of this remarkable young woman, Old Capitol's superintendent commented: "She was a good talker, very persuasive, and the most persistent and enthusiastic Rebel who ever came under my charge." Yet a Baptist minister confined near her in the prison observed: "I cannot help admiring the spirit of patriotism which seems to control her conduct, although much of romance is no doubt mixed with her patriotism."[16]

Before describing life inside Old Capitol, one must bear in

[16] Williamson, *Prison Life at the Old Capitol,* pp. 51-52; Griffith, "Fredericksburg's Political Hostages" p. 410n.; Sigaud, *Belle Boyd,* pp. viii, 134-35, 201: Leech, *Reveille in Washington,* pp. 156-58, 274-75. Miss Boyd's autobiography, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (New York, 1865), is a sketchy and overly dramatic narrative that often raises questions of authenticity. The book has been skillfully edited by Curtis Carroll Davis and republished (South Brunswick, N. J., 1968).

mind two unalterable facts about Civil War prisons: 1) the great majority of surviving accounts were written by inmates, not administrators, and hence are overly biased; and 2) prisoners in any institution tend always to exaggerate their misery. Old Capitol's political prisoners, most of whom were there because of inflammatory writings or vociferous speeches, naturally were inclined to give the most outspoken and dismal picture of their situation. These factors notwithstanding, Old Capitol still left something to be desired.

"In gloom and filth and discomfort," the prison truly "belonged to an ancient tradition." Owing to constantly crowded conditions, individual privacy was out of the question. Prisoners were normally packed into rooms with twice as many people as each room was supposed to hold. Newspaperman Mahony once moaned: "Nothing but the Providence of God preserved the prisoners from the natural effects of the filth, heat, and their crowded contact with each other."[17]

Furniture was sparse and crude. Bunk-beds consisted of straw thrown atop boards cut more to the measurements of midgets. Vermin and spiderwebs graced every nook and corner; the strong odor of human excrement permeated the whole compound. The only diversions available to the prisoners were card-playing, letter-writing, smoking, singing, and whatever horseplay men might devise. "The worst misery in the Old Capitol," one writer has concluded, "was the helplessness and uncertainty which made the men . . . dull their minds with endless games of bluff poker, and toss wakefully at night on their shakedowns . . ."[18]

A typical prison day began at dawn, when guards unlocked room doors and announced breakfast. Prisoners then tramped to the first floor mess hall, which a Virginian described as "a long, dirty, gloomy-looking room, with nothing in its appearance to tempt the appetite." The food, he added, "looked as though served at second-hand. The odor which assailed the nostrils seemed as if coming from an ancient garbage heap." Judge Andrew D. Duff of the 26th Judicial Circuit of Illinois never forget his first meal as a prisoner in Old Capitol. He termed the mess hall a *"hog-pen,* a place where several hundred

[17] Leech, *Reveille in Washington,* p. 141; Mahony, *Prisoner of State,* p. 213.
[18] Leech, *Reveille in Washington,* p. 143.

prisoners rushed at meal-time to satisfy the cravings of hunger." Judge Duff was unable "to bear the stench of the place, and the sight of the disgusting mass of half-putrid meat."[19]

Civilian and political prisoners were of one voice in damning the food issued at Old Capitol. Dennis Mahony reported a breakfast as consisting of "a plate of the same crackers which had been furnished the night before—a piece of what we call mule beef, and which we seldom eat. . . . camp knives which stain anything they touch, forks to match, and a teapot of what is called coffee, but which looks as if the coffee-slops of some hotel table were all put together and boiled over." Another prisoner described prison fare as bread, pork and beef. "The pork was of poor quality, and was made worse by being badly kept, and illy cooked. The beef . . . had the appearance . . . of a piece of thick sole-leather, steeped in grease . . . Those who had good teeth might masticate it, with an effort, but even then they could not swallow it."[20]

Mrs. Greenhow once characterized a chicken dinner as "fowl which must have been the cock that crowed thrice to wake Peter;" and years after the war, her daughter remarked: "I do not remember much about our imprisonment except that I used to cry myself to sleep from hunger."[21]

After the morning meal, prisoners returned to their rooms. Other than sick call at 9 a. m., the inmates had nothing to do until lunchtime. The same quality of rations was distributed at noon. Then followed a thirty-minute period in the yard for exercise and fresh air. Yet, one inmate noted, the yard was generally so full of the tents of Confederate prisoners of war "that all the recreation which could be indulged in was to gather in a crowd together, and elbow one's way through it."[22]

On August 15, 1862, civilian George H. C. Rowe of Fredericksburg, Virginia took his first thirty-minute outing in the yard. He stated: "This little enclosure I found filled; about three hundred and fifty prisoners of every rank, condition and degree, statesmen, lawyers, bankers, doctors, editors, officers,

[19] Williamson, *Prison Life at the Old Capitol,* p. 26; Marshall, *American Bastile,* pp. 293, 301.

[20] Mahony, *Prisoner of State,* pp. 230-31, 261; Marshall, *American Bastile,* pp. 329-33.

[21] Ishbel Ross, *Rebel Rose: Life of Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Confederate Spy* (New York, 1954), pp. 202, 228.

[22] Mahony, *Prisoner of State,* p. 290.

merchants, soldiers, deserters, and vagabonds were mingled in the court. The great majority however, were dirty, lousy, half-clad soldiers. . . . The condition of many of the captive soldiers can be conceived when I state that many of them were actually scraping lice from their persons with knives and sticks."[23]

When the half-hour "recreation" period ended, prisoners were herded back to their rooms for more boredom until supper time. Roll call came immediately after the evening meal. "Taps" consisted of a guard moving down the hall and shouting for all lights to be extinguished. Prisoners then sat in the darkness until sleep came. Yet, more likely than not, sleep was but temporary—thanks to the presence in every room of vermin. "There is a large force of bedbugs in the room," prisoner James J. Williamson recorded in his journal, "and they send out detachments and raiding parties to all the different bunks, and draw their full supply of rations from the occupants. Sometimes we get together and have . . . a promiscuous slaughter, regardless of age or sex. But they must recruit from the other side, like the Yankee army, as we can notice no diminition in the forces."[24]

Iowa's Dennis Mahony stated the case more dramatically. "No dodging could escape the reconnoissance of these vigilant and active marauders. Even those [prisoners] who slept on the tables were assailed with as much fury as those who remained in the bunks." The bedbugs customarily made their assault in force around 1 a. m. "About that time of the night, some one would wake up smarting from the bites which he had received, and uttering imprecations on his tormentors. Soon the whole crowd would be awake, candles would be lighted, and then for the onslaught on the bugs. . . . Pickets were set to watch the enemy, skirmishers were thrown out, bases of operation were selected, reports made of the number of captured and slain—and after an exhaustive battle, in which many wounds were inflicted on one party, and thousands killed on the other side, the assailing party being always routed, the prisoners slept upon their arms, ready at a moment's warning for a renewal of the attack."[25]

[23] Griffith, "Fredericksburg's Political Hostages," p. 408.
[24] Williamson, *Prison Life at the Old Capitol,* p. 68.
[25] Mahony, *Prisoner of State,* pp. 298-300.

Mrs. Rose O'Neil Greenhow, the Confederate spy, with her daughter, in the Old Capitol Prison. *The Photographic History of the Civil War* by Francis T. Miller. *Maryland Historical Society*

As a further complication for Old Capitol inmates, and in marked contrast to other Civil War prisons, no specific regulations existed for the conduct of the incarcerated. As one Confederate observed early in his confinement:

> There are no prison rules for our guidance placed where they can be seen, and no official instructions as to how we are to act, or to whom we shall make known our necessities. A knowledge can only be gained from conversing with prisoners who have been a long time in the prison, or from actual observation, or from seeing punishment inflicted upon some poor wretch for a viola-

tion of an unwritten law. One can only do as you see others do, and if you blindly follow a willful or ignorant transgressor, you must take the punishment of a guilty person.[26]

The security of Old Capitol Prison lay not in its boarded windows and locked doors but in the heavy guard that patrolled constantly on the streets outside. Two inmates were killed by these prison sentries. Jesse W. Wharton, the twenty-six-year-old son of a college professor, was slain in the spring of 1863 when he refused a guard's order to back away from a window. Wharton had been an officer in the Federal army but had resigned because his heart was not in the struggle. The following month, twenty-three-year-old Henry Stewart, son of a Baltimore physician, was shot in the thigh while attempting to escape. Stewart's leg was amputated, but he died the next day from complications. Prison gossip claimed that Stewart had bribed a guard to allow him to escape, but that the guard had reneged at the critical moment.[27]

No prisoner ever loves his jailer. This truism aptly existed at Old Capitol, and it applied in particular to the four chief adminstrators of the compound. The most detested of the quartet was General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, who was Military Governor of Washington during the first year of the war. Mansfield allegedly gave orders that all prisoners would be fed "side pork and hard biscuit, the worst that could be procured." When a subordinate protested that the majority of the inmates were civilian gentlemen not even formally accused of any crime, Mansfield snorted: "Damn them! They are all traitors, or they would not be there. They shall have nothing else but what I have ordered. That is good enough for them!" Mansfield was killed in September, 1862, at the battle of Antietam Creek. When news of his death made the rounds of Old Capitol, many prisoners "hoped he would realize in the new existence to which he was introduced what it is to be a tyrant towards his fellow mortals in misfortune. This was the most charitable feeling entertained towards him."[28]

The prison official mentioned most often in the writings of inmates was Superintendent William P. Wood. Born in 1820

[26] Williamson, *Prison Life at the Old Capitol,* pp. 53-54.
[27] George A. Lawrence, *Border and Bastile* (London, 1863), pp. 207-11; Marshall, *American Bastile,* pp. 343-45.
[28] Mahony, *Prisoner of State,* pp. 263-64.

in Alexandria, Virginia, and a former private in the Regular Army, Wood was commandant of Old Capitol throughout its wartime existence. He and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton were such close friends that a Washington provost marshal once sneered: "Wood was deeper in the War Office than any other man at Washington, and it was commonly said that Stanton was at the head of the War Office and Wood at the head of Stanton."

Wood was a small man in his early forties when he became civilian administrator of Old Capitol. He proved to be a veritable bundle of inconsistencies. On the one hand, he was flagrantly impudent of authority and seemed to delight in disregarding all orders from above. That he compiled a fortune from stealing money and other valuables of prisoners is substantiated in official reports.[29] Small wonder that his superiors (with the exception of the powerful Stanton) regarded him with distrust and contempt.

On the other hand, Wood went out of his way to try and win at least the confidence of his prisoners. In his own, rather uncouth way, he proved indulging and sympathetic. He supposedly violated regulations and allowed mail to pass in and out of the prison; he was always disarmingly respectful to all inmates; and he explained every hardship imposed by stating that such were direct orders from his superiors.

The prisoners never held Wood in any esteem. He was their jailer—the source of their misery. He was also a "renegade Virginian" noted for loud views on both the abolition of slavery and the preservation of the Union. Inmates regarded as disgusting Wood's tactic of sending spies (posing as prisoners) into the cells to gather information. His alleged penchants for stealing and embezzlement were considered sadistic dishonesty. Lastly, and despite his Roman Catholic background, Wood was an avowed atheist. One Sunday morning in 1862, when Wood allowed a Confederate and a Union chaplain to hold separate church services in the compound, the Superintendent announced the fact by strolling through the halls and yelling cheerfully: "All ye who want to hear the Lord God preached according to Jeff Davis, go down to the yard; and all ye who want to hear the Lord God preached according to Abe

[29] *Official Records*, V, pp. 375-76.

Lincoln, go down to Number 16!" Late in 1865, Wood became Chief of the United States Secret Service. He died in 1903 at the Soldier's Home in Washington.[30]

Of the two other prison administrators who acquired large shares of denunciation from inmates, the most obnoxious was the permanent officer of the guard, Lieutenant Joseph Miller of the 10th New Jersey Infantry. Prisoners referred to him as "Bullhead," and one voiced the opinion that Miller was "like many other civilians who never before had any authority over their fellow-men," for he "arrogated to himself all the power, as well as authority, which he dared exercise with impunity, over the defenceless victims intrusted to his guardian care."[31] Slightly less repulsive was Old Capitol's portly and pompous medical officer, Surgeon W. D. Stewart. Mrs. Greenhow regarded him as "a vulgar, uneducated man, bedizened with enough gold lace for three field marshals."[32] However, the quality of Stewart's medical practice at Old Capitol must have been above average, for embittered prisoners never singled it out for condemnation.

Life in Old Capitol early degenerated into boredom and personal uncertainty. Prisoners passed the time sitting dejectedly in their cells. Confederate soldiers could only pine for exchange or transfer to a supposedly better compound. Civilian political prisoners hoped for arraignment or release. Either was regarded as preferable to detainment without charge. With prisoners of war being continually shuttled in and out of Old Capitol, the anxieties of civilian inmates naturally increased with each succeeding day.

A few unusual events occurred to break the tedium of prison existence. On December 5, 1862, a Federal soldier convicted of murder was hanged in the prison yard. The condemned man was Private John Kessler of the 103rd New York Infantry. For several weeks thereafter, the gallows was left standing in the yard, where its presence added to the "terror" of the prisoners.[33] In January, 1864, smallpox erupted inside Old Capitol.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 400-03, 413, 489-91; Wayland F. Dunaway, *Reminiscences of a Rebel* (New York, 1913), p. 104; Williamson, *Prison Life at the Old Capitol*, pp 33-34; Mahony, *Prisoner of State*, pp. 257-58; Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, pp. 145-48.

[31] Marshall, *American Bastile*, p. 332.

[32] Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, p. 149.

[33] Marshall, *American Bastile*, p. 331.

Yet as quickly as cases were detected, diseased prisoners were transferred to Washington's Kalorama Hospital. Such actions prevented the disease from reaching epidemic proportions as it did in other Civil War prisons.[34] On the morning of Abraham Lincoln's death, an angry mob gathered in front of Old Capitol and remained there throughout the day. Yet no attempt was made to rush the building.[35]

The blackest day in Old Capitol's history came on November 10, 1865—seven months after the Civil War ended. At 11:20 a.m. that Friday morning, as spectators perched in nearby house windows and treetops, another hanging took place in the prison yard. The condemned man was Captain Henry Wirz, former commandant of Andersonville Prison. He was the only war criminal to be executed as a result of America's bloodiest conflict. That Wirz was undeserving of such a fate makes the incident more a legal lynching than a military execution.

Arrested on May 10, 1865, the small and crippled Swiss officer was confined for seven months in Room No. 9 on Old Capitol's third floor. That summer a military court martial, violating every known concept of justice, arraigned Wirz on charges of murder, conspiracy and excessive cruelty. In the course of the trial, the prosecution introduced 160 witnesses, consisting mainly of deserters, bounty-jumpers, and men actually hired by agents of Secretary Stanton to present false evidence.

For example, one "star witness" gave severely damaging testimony, walked from the courtroom, and gleefully confessed to friends outside that everything to which he had sworn was "all a damned lie." Another key witness was Boston Corbett, a known religious fanatic who early in the Civil War had been under death sentence for desertion. Only five years after the Wirz trial, this man (who also claimed credit for shooting John Wilkes Booth) was adjudged hopelessly insane.

The Wirz trial made a mockery even of military court proceedings. Wirz's defense witnesses were dismissed before they could testify; his attorneys were intimidated and denied time to prepare their defense. In railroad fashion, Henry Wirz was found guilty on ten counts of murder and conspiracy.

[34] *Official Records,* VI, pp. 856-57.

[35] McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier and Staff Officer under Johnston, Jackson and Lee* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 394.

But let it be remembered that this Confederate officer went to his death with heroism. He walked calmly to the scaffold; for eighteen minutes he sat quietly on a stool while the sentence and other pronouncements were being read. Then, with the halter around his neck, Wirz made a final statement: "I am innocent, and will die like a man, my hopes being in the future. I go before my God, the Almighty God, and He will judge between me and you." Then, a recent writer has summarized, "what heroism there was disappeared with the roll of the drum, the jerk of the halter, and the cheers of a nation gone mad."[36]

Henry Wirz was the pound of flesh that a victorious North had to extract. Yet the injustice of his trial, and the illegality of his sentence, will forever remain black marks on the American judiciary system. It is one of the ironic coincidences of our national heritage that on the precise spot where Wirz was put to death now stands the U. S. Supreme Court building.

Less than three weeks after the Wirz execution, Secretary Stanton ordered Old Capitol closed. The dozen remaining prisoners were transferred elsewhere. By 1869 the entire Old Capitol compound had been demolished—as if the Federal government were eager to erase the historical building from view and memory.[37]

In its four-year existence as a prison, Old Capitol contained a host of prominent prisoners: Rose Greenhow, Belle Boyd, John S. Mosby, Mrs. Mary Surratt, Southern governors Joseph E. Brown, John Letcher and Zebulon B. Vance, plus many others. The prison had an average monthly population of 1,011 inmates. Its most crowded period was November, 1863, when 2,763 prisoners passed through its doors. A total of fifty-one prisoners died in Old Capitol; seventeen others made successful escapes.[38]

The smallness of the last two statistics leads to a major and irrefutable conclusion: compared to other Civil War compounds, life in Old Capitol was reasonably pleasant. Captured Southern soldiers who spent time there considered Old Capitol

[36] Darrett B. Rutman, "The War Crimes and Trial of Henry Wirz," *Civil War History*, VI (1960), pp. 117-33; Williamson, *Prison Life at the Old Capitol*, pp. 142-43.
[37] *Official Records*, VIII, p. 819; Marshall, *American Bastile*, p. 321.
[38] *Official Records*, VIII, pp. 987-1004.

far superior to such Northern prisons as Point Lookout, Fort Delaware and Elmira.[39] While political prisoners wrote many and long tracts of the hardships and "cruel despotism" that they were forced to endure, they tended to overlook such luxuries at their disposal as coal-fire stoves in every room, the availability from the outside of food, whiskey, newspapers and playing cards, and regular visitations from relatives and friends. Such leniences as these explain why Old Capitol had no outbursts of violence and only a minimum number of escapes.

One can hardly deny that a large number of persons cast into Old Capitol were jailed without due cause and—moreover—detained for unjustifiably long periods of time. Even Provost Marshal William E. Doster was led to admit:

> The great fault of this prison (and one for which the Secretary [of War] is and ought to be blamed) was that it operated like a rat-trap—there was only a hole in but no hole out; in other words, plenty of provision for arresting people, but none for trying them or disposing of their cases.
>
> [Colonel Lafayette C.] Baker could arrest, the detectives could arrest, the provost marshal could arrest, the Secretary and each of his two assistants could arrest, but none of them could discharge without running great risk of getting into trouble with some or all of the others. . . .[40]

Nevertheless, and prisoners' memoirs notwithstanding, most of the civilians sent to Old Capitol were arrested for good reason. The large majority were, in truth, active saboteurs, Confederate agents, inciters of riots and desertion, and in many other ways guilty of giving direct aid to the enemy.[41] Their confinement, even without official charges, was a necessary wartime precaution. The treatment they received was far more benevolent than the treatment they plotted or executed against the Union. For many inmates, Old Capitol was "the American Bastile." Yet, in its last years of existence, that grand old building deserved better tenants—and a far better fate—than it received. Such was the indignity of civil war.

[39] For example, see William H. Morgan, *Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1861-5* (Lynchburg, Va., 1911), p. 225.

[40] William E. Doster, *Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War* (New York, 1915), pp. 106-7.

[41] James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (Urbana, Ill., 1964), pp. 155-56; Milton, *Abraham Lincoln and the Fifth Column*, p. 235.

THE PHOENIX: A HISTORY OF THE ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

by ANNE W. BROWN

THE HISTORY of the St. John's College Library goes back almost 300 years to the founding of King William's School and the establishment of Thomas Bray's provincial library in Annapolis. The former represented the colonists' recognition of the need for education, and the latter, that of the Anglican Church in England, for the same need. Of the two educational objectives symbolized by these institutions, philosophical and spiritual preparation, the first eventually predominated, and is reflected in the collection of the library today.

King William's School was established in 1696 by an act of the General Assembly of Maryland for "Propagation of the Gospel and the Education of the Youth of this Province in Good Letters and Manners."[1] Annapolis was chosen as the site because it was the center of government activity and of tobacco exportation for the colony. Like the other colonial schools, the new one stressed theology, philosophy, and the classics, and though no records of the first library exist today, it can be assumed that these disciplines were represented in whatever collection was gathered.

The late seventeenth century also saw the rise of parochial libraries in the colonies. The main proponent for this scheme of education in the middle Atlantic was the Rev. Thomas Bray, an Anglican clergyman who became Commissary of Maryland in 1696. Bray realized that in the rural and agrarian British colonies it would not be possible for each minister to visit and instruct his whole congregation sufficiently, but he felt that books might compensate for this deficiency. Most of the minister's were too poor, however, to afford personal libraries of any size, so Bray proposed that libraries be given to the various parishes to be under the care of the clergy. In his *Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge* and

[1] William H. Browne, *et. al.*, eds., *Archives of Maryland* (70 vols., Baltimore, 1883 to present), XIX, p. 420.

Bibliotheca Parochialis he outlined this scheme.[2] For security, loans were to be from two to four weeks, depending on the size of the volume taken, and covers of all library books were to be stamped with the name of the parish and that of the current monarch. Donations to support the program were to be solicited from the nobility, the clergy, and the gentry.[3]

All of these ideas were embodied in the formation and utilization of the library given to Annapolis. In 1696 Bray and Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of the Maryland colony, went to Denmark to ask Princess Ann, for whom Annapolis had just been named, for support.[4] She gave £400 towards the establishment of the library, which was to be the largest one in the colony. This gift, and others from the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury,[5] enabled Bray to purchase 1,095 volumes for the Provincial Library. In Maryland, Governor Francis Nicholson had attempted to appropriate defense funds to aid the library but was unsuccessful in this.[6]

No catalogue of the books chosen for Annapolis exists, but if the plan outlined in Bray's writings were followed, the collection was composed mainly of theology, moral philosophy, law, science, Greek, Latin, and a few volumes of grammar, poetry, and belles-lettres.[7] The first volumes arrived in 1697, and the last were sent in 1700. They were placed in the only brick building in the town, but after fires in 1699 and 1704 they were moved to King William's School.[8] Although there is no record of any of the books being burned in these fires, other materials were lost, and some of Bray's volumes could have been among them.

[2] Thomas Bray, *An Essay Towards Promoting all Necessary and Useful Knowledge, Both Divine and Human, In all Parts of His Majesty's Dominions, Both Home and Abroad,* reprinted in Bernard C. Steiner, ed., *Rev. Thomas Bray: His Life and Selceted Works Relating to Maryland* (Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pub. no. 37; Baltimore, 1901), pp. 53-70, and Thomas Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis: or, a Scheme of such theological heads . . . together with a catalogue of books . . .,* reprinted in Steiner, *Thomas Bray.*

[3] Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis,* pp. 124-125.

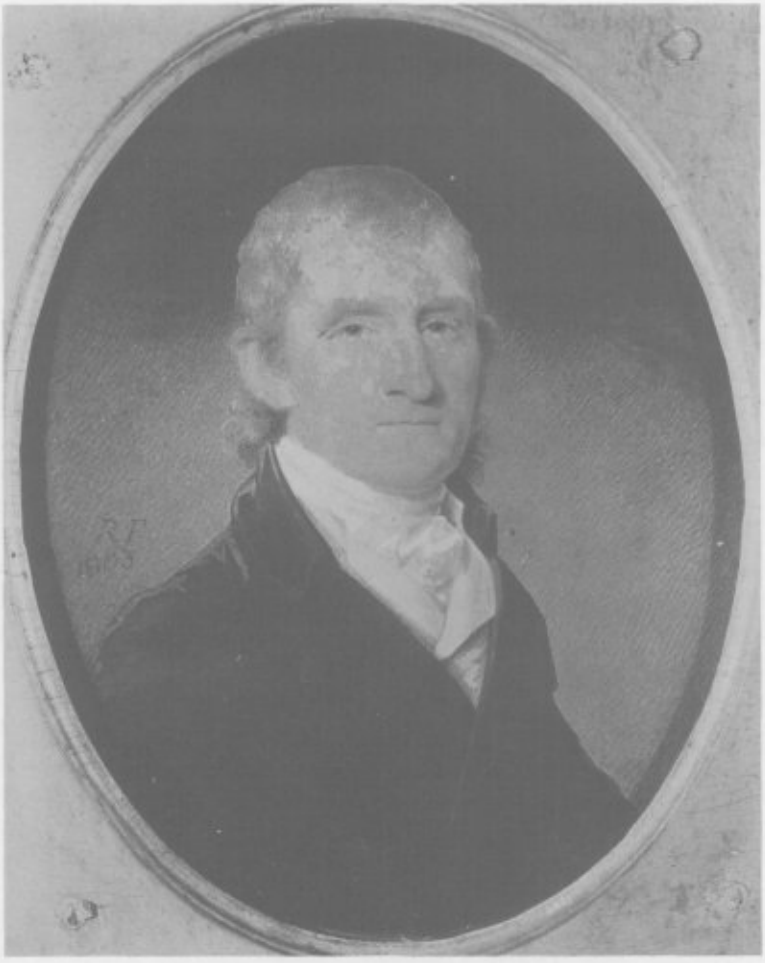
[4] Edward D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland, as Portrayed in Mansucripts, Provincial Records, and Early Documents* (Albany, 1876), p. 172.

[5] Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Literary Culture in Eighteenth Century Maryland, 1770-1776," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (Sept., 1943), XXXVIII, p. 273.

[6] *Archives of Maryland,* XIX, p. 484.

[7] Bray, *Essay,* reprinted in Steiner, *Thomas Bray,* pp. 67-70: Thomas Bray, "The Layman's Library, being a Lending Library for the Use of the Laity," reprinted in Steiner, *Thomas Bray,* pp. 153-156; Ford Keeler Brown, *The Annapolitan Library at St. John's College* (Baltimore, 1931), pp. 9-13.

[8] Brown, *Annapolitan Library,* p. 9.



Dr. John McDowell (1751-1820), first president of St. John's College. Painting by Robert Field. *Privately Owned*

Despite the precaution of housing the library in brick buildings and stamping the covers with "Sub Auspicius Wilhelmi" on the front covers and "Bibliotheca Annopolita" on the backs, many of the books were lost, as revealed in the 1714 inventory ordered by Governor Hart.[9] The General Assembly, as well as

[9] Helen Fowles van Walt, "First Circulating Library," *Sunday Sun Magazine* (Baltimore), Jan. 17, 1954, pp. 7 and 14.

Bray, had tried to limit losses by making the "incumbents," or ministers, of St. Anne's Parish responsible for loss and theft.[10] Although the attempt failed, it represents the first library legislation in British North America.[11]

In 1720 the library was transferred to the new State House, where it remained until the latter half of the century when it was again in King William's School.[12] The enthusiasm originally surrounding the parochial libraries had diminished considerably by the time of Bray's death in 1730, and the collection was probably used as much by the school as it would have been by the public. Housed with the other volumes in the school and probably constituting the largest part of that library, it was, however, just as vulnerable to damage and theft as those books with a less noble history.[13] Perhaps the teachers in the school were among those who recognized the literary and scientific value of the few books with general appeal—those that have disappeared.

Several attempts at establishing a college,[14] interrupted by the Revolutionary War, culminated in 1782 with the founding of Washington College and in 1794 with the founding of St. John's.[15] Despite the original idea of having the colleges come together to form the University of Maryland,[16] they evolved quite independently of each other. Annapolis was chosen over Upper Marlboro as the site for the second college,[17] and in 1785 the funds and properties of King William's School were consolidated with those of the new school.[18] Among those properties conveyed was the library, including the Bray collec-

[10] *Archives of Maryland,* XIX, p. 469, and XXII, pp. 517-518; Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland at Large [1637-1763]* (Annapolis, 1765), 1704, ch. 37.

[11] Maryland, State Library Commission, *Seventh Annual Report to his Excellency the Governor of Maryland, for the Year* 1909 (n.p., n. d.) App. II, p. 39.

[12] Joseph Towne Wheeler, "The Layman's Library and the Provincial Library," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (March, 1940), XXXV, p. 70.

[13] "Text-books stolen from Free-School," *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Sept. 7, 1769.

[14] *Archives of Maryland,* XXXIV, p. 740 and LVIII, p. 315.

[15] Maryland, *Laws of Maryland made since MDCCLXIII* (Annapolis, 1787), 1784, ch. 37. A draught was published in the *Maryland Gazette,* Dec. 16, 1784 of "An Act for Founding a college . . ."

[16] "University of Maryland," *Maryland Gazette,* Dec. 16, 1784.

[17] St. John's College, *An Account of Laying the Cornerstone of the new Building at St. John's College . . . with an Address Delivered on the Occasion . . . June 18th, 1835* (Annapolis, 1835), p. 7.

[18] William Kilty, comp., *Laws of Maryland . . . [-1799], II* (Annapolis, 1800), 1785, ch. 39.

tion. The books were probably housed in the "back room" on the third floor of the school building with the philosophical apparatus.[19]

The governing body of St. John's, the Board of Visitors and Governors, does not appear to have been too anxious to expand the library, for although they were empowered to do so as early as 1785,[20] the first record relating to the library is in the Board's Minutes of Nov. 14, 1790—a year after classes began.[21] At this meeting the "purchase of a proper library" was discussed, and a committee formed to consult with the Principal, John MacDowell, about the matter. Six months later plans were made for preparing the "Octagon," or cupola above the fourth floor, to serve as a library,[22] but it was at least three years until the room was ready.[23]

Subscriptions and gifts to the college were so plentiful that by 1792 the endowment exceeded expenses,[24] and the Board was able to allocate £125 for books. The curriculum had apparently been agreed upon and the old library assessed, for the Minutes record twenty-one books which the Board felt were necessary additions.[25] The sources for obtaining these were probably much the same as they had been for King William's School: local circulating libraries and bookstores, of which Annapolis had more than its share, and estates. One of the first booksellers, William Rind, operated his circulating library for only a year before he had to auction his books in 1764.[26] Ten years later William Aikman opened a combination circulating library and bookstore more elaborate than Rind's or any in Baltimore and shortly had 1,200 volumes.[27] He appears to have been quite successful until 1776 when he was forced to leave for political reasons.[28]

[19] St. John's College, Board of Visitors and Governors, *An Address of the Visitors and Governors of St. John's College to the Senate of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1794), p. 7.

[20] *Laws of Maryland (-1799), II,* 1785, ch. 5.

[21] St. John's College, Board of Visitors and Governors, Minutes, 1786-1826, Nov. 14, 1790, p. 44.

[22] *Ibid.,* May 10, 1791, p. 54.

[23] St. John's College, *An Address of Visitors and Governors,* p. 10.

[24] *Maryland Gazette,* Jan. 12, 1792.

[25] Board of Visitors and Governors, Minutes, 1786-1826, p. 63.

[26] *Maryland Gazette,* March 29, 1764.

[27] Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (June, 1939), XXXIV, 116: *Maryland Gazette,* July 8 and Nov. 11, 1773.

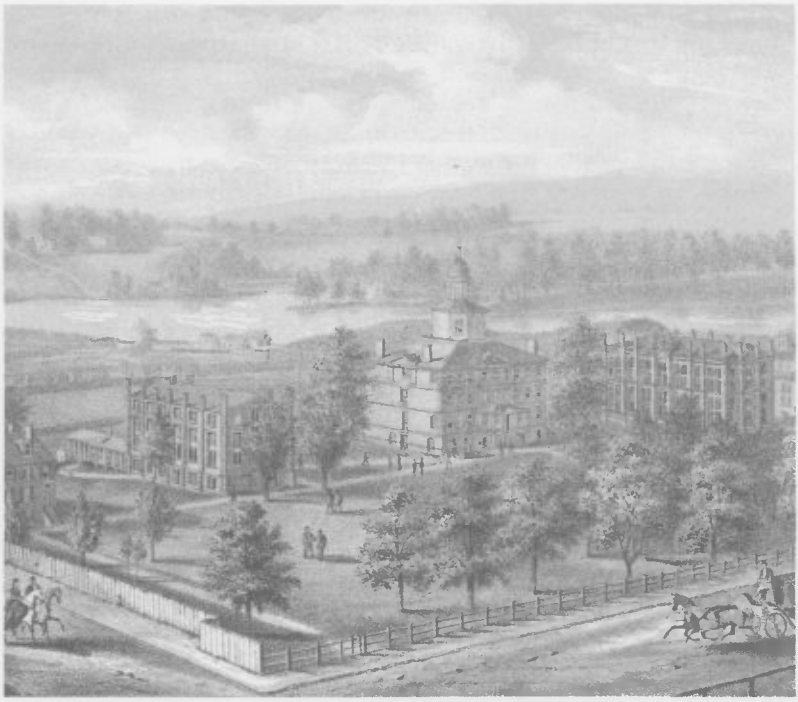
[28] Wheeler, "Literary Culture," p. 276.

By the time St. John's was established, the leading bookseller in Annapolis was Stephen Clark, an importer with a comprehensive selection of books.[29] In addition, the Green family, who for almost one hundred years controlled the printing industry in the town, published the important weekly, the *Maryland Gazette,* and as printers to the state until about 1825, also published official papers: reports, laws, proceedings, etc. The Greens ran the Post Office, which also served as their printing office, and from it sold reference works, Bibles, and other books with a large market. And, from time to time, the other merchants in town sold books brought in by incoming ships. St. John's probably utilized all these sources at one time or another, though by 1802 they relied heavily on one person, Richard Owen, as bookseller to the college.[30]

The books purchased just as the school was beginning, in the fields of Greek, Latin, mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy,[31] were the last bought for many years. In 1805 the annual state grant was withdrawn,[32] almost forcing the school to close. In 1816 some of the funds were restored,[33] but it was not for another ten years that the finances were stabilized. At this time a lottery was sanctioned by the state, similar to one which had been held forty years before for the benefit of the Washington College library.[34] The lottery was successful, and in 1826 the Board appropriated more than $250.00 of its proceeds for improvement of the library.[35]

Still more progress was made in the 1830's. Lewis Neth, an Annapolis merchant and member of the Board of Visitors and Governors, willed "all Books, Maps, and Globes" to the school in 1832.[36] The bequest, which numbered about 800 volumes,[37] increased the size of the library by about one-third. The con-

[29] *Maryland Gazette,* Aug. 9, 1787.
[30] *Ibid.,* Feb. 8, 1808.
[31] Maryland, *Laws of Maryland Made and Passed at a Session of Assembly . . . 1802-1808* (Annapolis, n.d.), 1805, ch. 85.
[32] Maryland, *Laws of Maryland . . . 1816-1818,* 1816, ch. 78, p. 57.
[33] Maryland, *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly . . . 1826* (Annapolis, 1827), 1826, ch. 261.
[34] "Scheme of a Lottery," *Maryland Gazette,* Dec. 23, 1784.
[35] Board of Visitors and Governors, Minutes, 1826-1830, July 10, 1826.
[36] Lewis Neth, Will, Oct. 7, 1832, Liber TTS no. 1, Folio 69, Book 40, pp. 150-152, Anne Arundel County.
[37] Maryland, General Assembly, Joint Committee on St. John's College, *Report of the Joint Committee on the Subject of St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1836), p. 8.



Lithograph of St. John's College Campus. *Maryland Historical Society*

tinual growth of the library at this time, and that of the college as a whole, made a second building on campus necessary, and its construction was authorized in 1834.[38] The next year the library was moved from MacDowell Hall to a room in the new building, now known as Humphreys Hall.

Though the size of the collection had increased, its quality and currency had not, and the changes made in the curriculum by President Hector Humphreys—the additions of chemistry, civil engineering, geology, and American history[39]—had rendered it obsolete in many ways. Not only was this reported to the Legislature,[40] but the sentiment was reiterated by the public.

[38] Board of Visitors and Governors, Minutes, Feb. 15, 1834, cited in St. John's College, *Laying the Cornerstone*, p. 29.
[39] St. John's College, *Catalogue . . . 1938-1939* (Annapolis, 1939), p. 16.
[40] *Report of the Joint Committee on St. John's College*, pp. 8-9.

> There is a library in the institution, but by no means such an one as it should be; although there is a large collection of books, and some of them rare and curious editions [Bray's?], yet they are not the kind most needed in an institution of the highest order of science. And it is ardently hoped that the State, under whose auspices this institution has been so recently revived, will bestow an adequate fund for furnishing its library with all the standard authors in literature, in science and the arts, and especially with all the philosophical and scientific journals published in this country and in Europe.[41]

Although a few books were ordered from abroad,[42] an "adequate fund" was not granted by the state, and the faculty, under whose control the library had been placed,[43] did not have the means to alleviate the situation.

Despite this apparent neglect, subject catalogues were published by the school in the 1840's.[44] The 1845 (?) catalogue divided the collection into nineteen classes (see fig. 2), and

Fig. 1. Summary of the 1845 Catalogue of the Library

Class	Volumes	Percentage
Congressional Documents	490	15.4
Histories	435	13.9
American State Papers	80	2.5
Law	175	5.3
Biography	145	4.5
Encyclopedias & Dictionaries	75	2.5
Reviews & Magazines	175	5.3
Scientific Works	220	7.3
Moral Philosophy	70	2.1
Rhetoric	20	0.7
Classicks & Belles Lettres	70	2.1
Theological & Ecclesiastical Works	90	3.1
French	175	5.3
Poetry	100	3.1
Novels	190	6.0
Miscellaneous	215	7.2
Bridgewater Treatises	25	0.8
Ancient Latin & Greek Theological Works, Folio	175	10.8
" " " " " , Quarto	100	
" " " " " , Octavo	50	
" " " " " , Duodec.	20	
Old English Works, Folio	30	2.1
" " " , Quarto	10	
" " " , Octavo	20	

[41] David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), pp. 240-241.

[42] St. John's College, *Circular of St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1841), p. 1.

[43] St. John's College, Board of Visitors and Governors, *Rules and Regulations of St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1838), p. 12.

[44] St. John's College, Library, *Catalogue* (n.p., 1845?); W. N. C. Carlton, "College Libraries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Library Journal* (1907), XXXII, p. 482 suggests that this was typical.

though there are no records of how the library was arranged, it is quite possible that books were grouped as they appear in the listing. The catalogue demonstrates the library's imbalance—of the 3,292 volumes, over 1,000 were government documents and theological works which were seldom read, and the fields of science and belles-lettres were hardly represented. The majority of the Ancient Theology was from the provincial library of 1700, but it is doubtful that the college had any knowledge of its origin or importance.[45]

In almost every respect, the St. John's Library was representative of the average nineteenth century college library. It was a little smaller than most, but its physical plant, sources of new books (mostly gifts), and even its deficiencies were standard.[46] The rules of the library, quaint today, were also typical.

> 1st. The College library shall be opened for one hour, after the usual experiences, every Saturday morning during term time.
> 2nd. Books may be drawn by members of the College Classes, not exceeding two volumes at a time, and may be kept for the space of two weeks.
> .....
> 8th. No translation of any author in the Classical Course may be drawn by the students, being forbidden by one of the College laws.[47]
> 9th. Students who wish to draw books from the Library, shall furnish the Librarian with memoranda of their own names, and of the books desired, every Saturday morning; and the books shall be given out at the entrance of the Library, without permitting any Student to take volumes from the Shelves.[48]

The hours of opening were in keeping with those of all schools but the largest use of the library by students, even in its restricted sense, was liberal. The rule regarding translations of the classics, a college law since 1790, was similar to that of Wesleyan[49] and consistent with the educational philosophy of the time.

[45] Brown, *Annapolitan Library*, p. 13.
[46] Carlton, "College Libraries," pp. 479-483.
[47] Board of Visitors and Governors, Minutes, 1786-1826, p. 33.
[48] St. John's College, Library, *Rules of the Library* (n.p., 1847), p. 1; Cf. Carlton, "College Libraries," p. 482-484.
[49] Carlton, "College Libraries," p. 483.

To compensate for the college library, the students of St. John's formed a library of their own in cooperation with their literary society, the Lyceum.[50] From its beginning in 1831, a librarian was elected from among the members and placed in charge of the collection.[51] Books were presented by the students themselves, by faculty members, and by friends.[52] The largest percentage was in history, biography, and literature,[53] and as a whole, the Lyceum library was more well-rounded than the larger college library. Maintenance of the collection and acquisition of especially desirable works were financed by dues of fifteen cents paid by the members. Within twenty years the Lyceum had gathered close to 1,000 volumes,[54] which it gave to the college in the 1850's.[55]

Another of the few additions in the mid-nineteenth century was a gift of forty books from Alexandre Vattemare's international exchange. During a trip to the United States between 1839 and 1841 Vattemare, a famous French ventriloquist, talked about his ideas for a clearing house for books with interested Americans. He thought extra copies of the same book in one library wasteful, and proposed an exchange to collect and distribute duplicates.[56] His suggestions met with approval in Washington and various state capitols, among them Annapolis. During his second trip in 1850 he arranged to have books sent to the state of Maryland for use at St. John's.[57] Vattemare never received the support at home that he did abroad, but his Agence Central des Echanges did manage to gain the sanction of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. The books promised to St. John's, mostly French theological works requested by President Humphreys,[58] arrived safely and many are still at the college today.

For the ten years preceding the Civil War, the library re-

[50] Cf., *ibid.*, pp. 485-486.
[51] St. John's College, "Lyceum Accessions, 1831-1837," p. 1.
[52] St. John's College, "Lyceum Reports, 1831-," *passim.*
[53] "Lyceum Accessions," *passim.*
[54] St. John's College, *Circular* (1841), p. 1.
[55] J. G. Proud, Jr., *Biographical Notice of the Rev. Hector Humphreys, D.D., Late Principal of St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1857), p. 9.
[56] Zoltán Harászti, "The First Public Library," *Atlantic Monthly* (July, 1954), CXCIV, p. 76.
[57] Charlotte Fletcher, "The Rev. Thomas Bray, M. Alexandre Vattemare, and Library Science," *Library Quarterly* (April, 1957), XXVII, p. 98.
[58] Alexandre Vattemare to President Hector Humphrey, from aboard the steamer *Franklin,* Dec. 16, 1850.

WILLIAM AIKMAN,
BOOKSELLER and STATIONER,
ANNAPOLIS,
Has juſt imported, in the Betſey and Molly, Captain Nicholſon,

A LARGE collection of BOOKS on inſtructive and ornamental literature, containing a general aſſortment of all the Engliſh claſſicks, hiſtories, religion, miſcellanies, voyages, eſſays, novels, 150 different plays, Latin and Engliſh ſchool books, and all kinds of ſtationary——To be ſold at the London prices, for *caſh* only.

Books bound and re-bound in the neateſt manner and at the moſt reaſonable rates. Paper ruled and bound for ledgers, journals, &c. upon return if not done according to directions.

W. A. takes this opportunity of returning his moſt grateful thanks to the public for the great encouragement his circulating library has met with. The library at preſent conſiſts of upwards of 1200 volumes; there will be a large addition of the new publications and periodical papers ſubjoined to the catalogue upon the arrival of the firſt ſhip from London; and ſuch additions will be made from time to time, as will render the Annapolis library upon a footing, if not ſuperior, to any circulating library on the continent. Books lent out by the year, quarter, month, or night, at the prices affixed in the catalogue.

N. B. A conſiderable allowance will be given to dealers who take books in quantities. A large parcel of common bibles, and a few dozens beſt coloured balledine threads, to be ſold in wholeſale. 3 w

Notice which appeared in *The Maryland Gazette,* November 11, 1773.
Maryland Historical Society

mained at about 4,000 volumes.[59] The library of the newly established Naval Academy across the street had twice that many, however, and references to it indicate that the college was given access to it.[60] But with the outbreak of the Civil War St. John's closed at the end of October, 1861. Annapolis had become a military post, which caused the parents of many students to worry about disease and diversion from studies. It was close to the war front, and the Union Army used much of the college as a hospital.[61]

By the time classes resumed in1866, about 1,000 volumes had been lost from the library and the rest were more obsolete than before.[62] A diploma fee had been instituted before the war to

[59] St. John's College, *Trienniel Catalogue of St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1858), p. 33.
[60] St. John's College, *St. John's College Reorganized* (Annapolis, 1855?), p. 6.
[61] Richard R. Duncan, "Impact of the Civil War on Education in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (March, 1966), LXI, pp. 39-40.
[62] St. John's College, *Annual Report of St. John's College to the General Assembly of Maryland . . . 1868* (Annapolis, 1868), p. 6.

aid the library[63] and was still in effect, but the few volumes that its proceeds enabled the college to buy did little to improve the overall situation.[64] President Garnett appealed to the Legislature for help, pointing out that hardly any new books had been added for twenty-five years, with the exception of public documents,[65] and that whatever money the school could save for books went to text-books for scholarship students rather than books for the library.[66] The Legislature responded in 1872 by passing "An act for the Relief of St. John's College," authorizing the State Treasurer to pay $5,000.00 to the school for the library, laboratory, and philosophical equipment.[67] With this support, and that of the library fee, more than 2,000 volumes were added in the next few years,[68] almost doubling the size of the library. A librarian was appointed by the faculty,[69] and the rules regarding student use became less stringent.[70]

With this impetus, the library began to keep records of its acquisitions. An accession book was begun in 1871[71] and an alphabetical author catalogue in the summer of 1877. Although the accessioning has continued (in the same series) up to the present, the catalogue was discontinued in 1893 when continuous supplements made it too difficult to use. It served only the purpose of a checklist—no guides to location or subject were included.[72] The college was still reluctant to invest heavily in the library—for many years more was spent on printing college catalogues than was spent for new books.[73] Gifts from both private individuals and government institutions con-

[63] *Trienniel Catalogue* (1858), p. 33.

[64] *Annual Report . . . 1868,* p. 6.

[65] *Ibid.,* and St. John's College, *Bienniel Report of St. John's College . . . to the General Assembly . . . 1874* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 10.

[66] *Bienniel Report . . . 1874,* p. 9.

[67] Maryland, *Laws of the State of Maryland . . . 1872* (Baltimore, 1872), ch. 393, p. 703.

[68] *Bienniel Report, 1874,* p. 9, and St. John's College, *Annual Catalogue of St. John's College . . . 1875-1876* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 26.

[69] St. John's College, Board of Visitors and Governors, *Rules and Regulations . . . 1875* (Annapolis, 1875), pp. 6-7.

[70] St. John's College, *Annual Catalogue for St. John's College . . . 1873-1874* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 23.

[71] St. John's College, Library, "Numerical List of Books." Accession Book, 1871-1893.

[72] St. John's College, Library, Catalogue of the Library, 1877-1893.

[73] St. John's College, Office of the Treasurer, Account Book, 1890-1902, *passim.*

tinued, however, and the collection grew steadily. The increasing size made classification necessary, and in 1893 an alphabetic-numeric system similar to Library of Congress classification was inaugurated. Instead of using decimal expansion in conjunction with it, the books in each class were given book numbers in order of accession, so that the first book in the "B" section would have been classified "B.1," the second "B.2," etc.[74] This scheme was modified and continued for thirty years.[75]

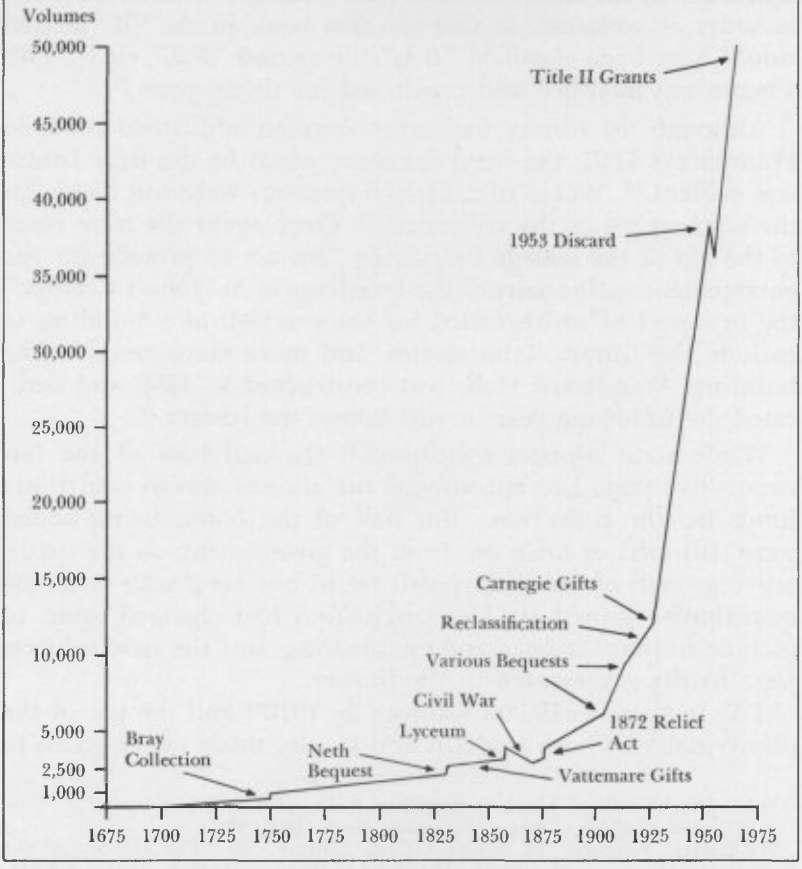
Although the library had taken over an additional room in Humphreys Hall, the need for more space in the near future was evident.[76] Worse still, the old quarters were too damp for the safekeeping of the collection.[77] Once again the state came to the aid of the college by passing "An act to provide for the enlargement and repairs of the buildings of St. John's College," the first part of which called for the erection of a building to include the library, laboratories, and more classrooms.[78] The building, Woodward Hall, was constructed in 1899 and dedicated the following year; it still houses the library.[79]

While state support continued,[80] the activities of the last twenty-five years had encouraged the alumni also to contribute funds for the collection. But half of the books being added were still gifts of little use from the government, so the qualitative growth of the library still could not keep pace with the quantitative growth.[81] The curriculum had changed again to include military science and engineering, but the new subjects were hardly represented in the library.

The increase to 10,000 volumes by 1910[82] and the use of the library daily by both students and faculty made easier access to

[74] St. John's College, Library, Accession Book, 1893-1908.
[75] St. John's College, Library, Accession Book, 1908-1925.
[76] Charlotte Fletcher, "St. John's College Library," in "The History of the College Libraries in Maryland, *Maryland Libraries* (Spring, 1961), XXVII, p. 5.
[77] *Bienniel Report . . . 1874*, p. 9.
[78] Maryland, *Laws of the State of Maryland . . . 1898* (Baltimore, 1898), ch. 299, p. 863.
[79] St. John's College, *Dedication Ceremonies in Connection with the Formal Opening of the Henry Williams Woodward Hall of St. John's College . . . June 18th, 1900* (n.p., 1900).
[80] Maryland, *Laws of the State of Maryland . . . 1902* (Baltimore, 1902), ch. 512, pp. 733-742.
[81] St. John's College, *Catalogue of St. John's College . . . 1903/04* (Annapolis, 1904), p. 53.
[82] St. John's College, *Catalogue of St. John's College . . . 1908/09* (Annapolis, 1909), p. 63.

Fig. 2. Growth of the St. John's College Library



the collection a necessity.[83] A catalogue of locations, grouping the books by subject and indicating where they were shelved, e.g., "Reading Room, West Wall," was therefore made.[84] As imprecise as it was, it was the first location device employed in the St. John's Library.

[83] *Catalogue . . . 1903/04*, p. 53, and *Catalogue . . . 1908/09*, p. 63.
[84] "Catalogue: Library of St. John's College" (typewritten, 1910?).

The library continued to evolve in an unstructured way until the faculty took an interest in it in the 1920's.[85] The Library Committee of that period, including Ford K. Brown, who later did extensive research on the Bray collection, took an active interest in what was happening to the library and tried to guide it towards more selective buying. At the same time, reclassification to the Library of Congress system began under Miss Lulu Ebaugh, Librarian. Following the lead of the Johns Hopkins University, the schedule was anticipated correctly in all but the "P," or Literature, division, for which interpolation is still necessary.[86]

It was fortunate that reclassification began when it did, for in the next ten years the library doubled its size. Not only were more books bought by the college with the new library fund,[87] but the Carnegie Corporation donated several hundred books, prints, and photographs,[88] and several private libraries were given to the school.[89] To accomodate the increase, in 1932 Woodward Hall was renovated and the area of it was given over to enlarging the library. One of the rooms added to the library, the King William Room (a portrait of him hangs over the mantle), served as a meeting place and a lecture hall for guest speakers.[90]

But in the 1930's the college faced grave financial problems, and in 1937 it was taken over by Stringfellow Barr and Scott Buchanan from the University of Virginia. They phased out the elective program and began a liberal arts program conceived by themselves, Robert M. Hutchins and Mortimer Adler of Chicago, and Alexander Meiklejohn of Amherst. The aim of the "Great Books" program, as it came to be called, was to provide a broad basis of knowledge applicable to whatever field the student chose for his vocation. It was a return to the colonial system of education, and the required texts at St. John's are no doubt quite similar to those that were used in King William's School.[91]

[85] Ford K. Brown, interview, March 14, 1969.
[86] Fletcher, "St. John's College Library," p. 5.
[87] Mrs. Simon Kaplan, interview, April 3, 1969.
[88] St. John's College, *Catalogue of St. John's College . . . 1926-1927* (Annapolis, n.d.) p. 24.
[89] Elmer Martin Jackson, Jr., *Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1936), p. 24.
[90] St. John's College, *Catalogue of St. John's College . . . 1937* (Annapolis, 1937), p. 27.
[91] Alexander Meiklejohn, *The Liberal College* (Boston, 1920).

McDowell Hall, St. John's College. *Maryland Historical Society*

With a change in the curriculum, student body, and faculty, a change in the library was inevitable. Books had to be bought to support the instruction; the reading lists were so long that few students could afford to buy all the required texts, and the tutors (professors) needed commentaries, criticism, and related works.

While the Library of Congress classification continued throughout most of the library, the books judged of highest quality were set aside in the King William Room and classified according to the seven liberal arts and three medieval professions: grammar, rhetoric and logic (the trivium); astronomy, geometry, music, and arithmetic (the quadrivium); and law, medicine, and theology. The practice was discontinued in the 1950's, however, because few books easily fit the categories, and there was no allowance for modern science.[92]

[92] Fletcher, "Thomas Bray," p. 97; Charlotte G. Fletcher, interview, April 27, 1969.

About 1,000 volumes were added each year, most of them in the fields of literature, history of science, Greek, philosophy, theology, and mathematics. The complete works in the original languages of the authors studied in the New Program were collected for reference, as well as a large number of texts for extended load that were out of print or too expensive for the students to buy. By 1853 an inventory was necessary, and several thousand of the older books were discarded.[93] The Bray collection was thoroughly studied and catalogued, and of the 457 volumes previously thought to be from the provincial library,[94] it was found that only 211 actually were.[95] Facilities and staff were expanded; an assistant librarian was hired to aid Miss Charlotte Fletcher, Librarian, and Mrs. Simon Kaplan, Cataloguer; a physically independent music library was formed to meet the needs of the music tutorial; and a student-operated bindery was begun.

In the 1960's, plans were made for the expansion and improvement of Woodward Hall, now exclusively used as the library. The books were moved out by the students to temporary quarters in Mellon Hall in April, 1967 and returned two years later. At the same time, grants were received from Title II of the Higher Education Act of 1965.[96] For three years, 1966 through 1969, the purchasing power of the library was doubled, enabling it to acquire many art books, large reference works, and extra copies of books important to the curriculum that were otherwise beyond the annual budget.

Today there are over 50,000 books, scores, and records at St. John's, including more than 200 prints available for one-year loan, approximately 2,500 "class copies" (texts) for the 400 students, and one croquet set. In a school where the teaching of philosophy centers around important works and discussions of the ideas contained therein, the library is as integral a part of the college life as any academic library anywhere.

[93] Kaplan interview.
[94] A. N. Brown, comp., "Annapolitan Library" (Catalogue of the Bray Collection, typewritten).
[95] St. John's College, Library, Card Catalogue of the Bray Collection (comp. 1953).
[96] U.S., *Statutes at Large, LXXVII* (1965), P.L. 89-329, Title II, Pt. A, Sec. 202, Nov. 8. 1965, p. 1222.

NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

THE LLOYD PAPERS

by Arlene Palmer

Members of a number of Maryland families have thrived for many generations in the same localities and followed the same interests as their earliest forebears. Few of these families however, have had as continuous a history of distinguished leadership—political, economic, social—as have the Lloyds of Talbot County. Fortunately the copious records of the family exist, and they rank among the Society's most valuable holdings.

Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller, a Lloyd descendant and present owner of the ancestral home, Wye House, has donated portions of her family papers to the Society at various times. But only recently have the documents been fully examined and organized into MS 2001, a collection which will undoubtedly yield important information to historians in many fields.

It is not the purpose here to delve into the impressive biographies of the various Lloyds; nevertheless, a few words should be said about the progenitor of the family. Edward Lloyd I (c.1605-c.1695) emigrated to Virginia as a member of a Puritan settlement. Because of various persecutions the sect moved to Maryland around 1650. Lloyd was apparently a vital force in the establishment of the Puritan town on the Severn River, and he participated in the provincial government in various roles, thereby initiating a tradition of political activity upheld by his descendants.

The close relationship with the Eastern Shore which has characterized the Lloyd family began with Edward Lloyd I. In 1658 and 1659 he was granted the tracts of "Linton" and "Hir Dir Loyd," together forming some 3650 acres in what was to become Talbot County. Here he built his plantation, a home for his progeny of the next three hundred years. Upon his return to England in 1668, the management of Lloyd's estate fell to his son Philemon (1646-1685). From this time, the first-born in each generation in the direct line has been named Edward in honor of "the Puritan"; for the sake of

clarity, the eight Edwards Lloyd are generally designated as II, III, etc. Although the majority of manuscripts relate to the Edwards and their immediate families, some center around more distant relatives and friends, among them Richard Bennett (1667-1749), James Hollyday (1696-1747), and Joseph Hopper Nicholson (1770-1817).

The Lloyd Papers number about 30,000 items, and fall naturally into four large groupings: land, letters, business, and legal material. The land papers are of three types: those pertaining to the acquisition of property, those related to the maintenance of property, and public land documents. The first category contains originals and/or copies of warrants, certificates, plats, patents, and deeds for nearly every land parcel the Lloyds owned, throughout the Eastern Shore as well as other regions of the state. These records are arranged by county, and where possible, the documentary histories of particular tracts have been kept chronologically in units. Completing the acquisitive phase of land affairs are sundry lawsuits. The managerial documentation of the numerous Lloyd farms and households comprises some one hundred and forty volumes of plantation account books, ledgers and the like which date from the 1740's through the nineteenth century. In addition, there are many lists and inventories of livestock, crops, and slaves. The public documents section of the collection contains such items as early eighteenth century Talbot County Rent Rolls, certificate books, and vendor-vendee books.

The letters received and written by the Lloyds date from 1706, i.e., from the time of Edward Lloyd II (1670-1718). All of the eighteenth century and some nineteenth century letters of particular significance—about one-third of the total 1500 letters—are chronologically ordered and indexed. Although all of the Edwards Lloyd were active in politics, the most interesting political correspondence belongs to Edward Lloyd V (1779-1834), United States Senator, State Senator, and Governor of Maryland. The writers are mainly Maryland politicians, with only a few letters from national figures.

Most of the unindexed correspondence consists of family letters. Grouped according to writer, these reveal the personal and daily life of a major Maryland family, and will be of interest to the social historian and genealogist. These letters along with other genealogical sources have formed the basis for

the most accurate and complete genealogical chart of the Lloyds to date. When dealing with the papers of a family of nine generations preliminary knowledge of kin is essential; hopefully the chart, kept in the Society library, will fulfill this need. The remainder of unindexed correspondence constitutes a chronological file. It should be noted that a number of letters have been retained in other categories of MS 2001, such as land cases and lawsuits, in order to avoid discontinuity.

Under the general classification of business holdings are several types of documents. There is a chronological sequence of business letters, primarily of the nineteenth century, from firms, banks, etc. Separate files have been made where a bulk of correspondence and related accounts and receipts center around one agent or company, e.g. William Hindman. To be utilized in conjunction with the business letters are ten boxes of accounts and receipts, arranged by decade or half-decade; these date from 1718 through the 1880's, but are concentrated in the period 1820-1860. In some instances topical subdivisions—accounts and receipts pertaining to clothing and fabric, architecture, furnishings—have been made in order to facilitate research by the craft historian.

A considerable portion of the Lloyd Papers is composed of legal material: lawsuits, settlements of estates, and such diverse documents, as wills and petitions. Among the more important records are the settlement papers of the estates of Edward Lloyd III, General John Cadwalader, Joseph H. Nicholson, and John Tayloe, and a case in the 1790's when Edward Lloyd IV was accused of mistreating his slaves.

As is usual in collections of this size, there are manuscripts which defy classification. These one hundred items, ranging from medicinal cures to poetry, from horse pedigrees to directions for building a tomb, have been duly relegated to an indexed "Miscellany" file.

The manuscripts of MS 2001 are unusual because of their completeness, especially in the areas of land management, business affairs, and family correspondence, and their overall variety of type and content. Certainly they will provide a singular opportunity for rewarding research in many aspects of life in Maryland, from the mid-seventeenth century to the early years of this century.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

By Mary K. Meyer

The Maryland Historical Society receives numerous manuscript gifts of genealogical interest, all of which are unique and all of which are happily accepted. But now and again a genealogical gift arrives that is particularly exciting such as the recently accessioned Mrs. T. Catesby Jones Collection (G-5047).

Mrs. Jones, although not a native Marylander, descended through her paternal line from the prominent Maryland Brooke and Neale families. Through her maternal lines she descended from several very old New England families.

John Baldwin, Mrs. Jones' great-grandfather, was born in Connecticut but settled in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, at an early date where he donated land and buildings to the Northwest Conference of the Methodist Church for the establishment of the Berea Institute, now Baldwin Wallace College. He was also the founder of Baldwin University and endowed several other schools including two in India.

Another great-grandfather, Reverend Henry Olcott Sheldon, also born in Connecticut and an early settler in Huron County, Ohio, was among other things a genealogist. As early as 1855, Reverend Sheldon began publication of *The Sheldon Magazine,* of which a copy of No. 4 is included in the collection. Also included in this collection are Bible records of the John Baldwin and Henry Olcott Sheldon families as well as the Bible of John Thomson Brooke (1819).

The Sheldon and Baldwin families were devout Methodists. Rev. Sheldon and John Baldwin with James Gilruth founded The Community of United Christians at Middleburg, Ohio in 1836. Minutes of the Council of the Community are also included in this collection. The marriage of a Baldwin son to a Sheldon daughter was the natural culmination of the close religious and business association between the two families.

Ruth (Sheldon) Baldwin continued the interest in the family genealogy throughout her busy life. Mrs. Baldwin's all too brief diary, 1875-77 (included in the collection), relates her experience as a school teacher at Fort Keough, Montana Territory. It was at Fort Keough where she witnessed the return of General Hill with his captives after the defeat of the Nez Perce Indians under Chief Joseph.

Milton and Ruth (Sheldon) Baldwin's daughter, Mildred, married a young Methodist clergyman, Francis Key Brooke, who later became Bishop of the Kansas Conference of the Methodist Church. In turn, the Brooke's daughter, Louisa (Mrs. T. Catesby Jones) took up the family genealogy. She added to the work that had gone before and worked out the Maryland lines of Brooke, Neale, Thomson, and others.

In the course of her research, Mrs. Jones acquired a number of books of British source records, most of which are rare and virtually unobtainable today at auction or from dealers and were a part of the gift to the Society. Some of these are listed below:

Baker, George, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton.* 2 vols. London, 1822-1830. Large paper copy, finely tooled.

Berry, William, *County Genealogies, Pedigrees of Families in the County of Sussex.* 2 vols. London, Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper, 1830.

_____, *County Genealogies, Pedigrees of Families in the County of Hertford.* London, Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper. c. 1830.

_____, *County Genealogies, Pedigrees of Families in the County of Kent.* London, Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper. 1830. Lacks pp. 433-436.

_____, *County Genealogies, Pedigrees of Families in the County of Hants.* London, Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper. 1833.

Dugdale, Sir William, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire.* London, 1656. First edition. Calf.

Grazebook George and Ryands, John Paul, eds., *The Visitatations of Cheshire.* London, Harleian Society, 1889.

_____. *The Visitations of Shropshire.* 2 vols., London, Harleian Society. 1889.

Howard, Joseph Jackson, ed. *The Visitations of Suffolke 1561.* 2 vols. London, Golding & Lawrence. 1876.

Lhoyd, H. and Powel, David, *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales . . .* London, 1811. (The original published 1584.)

Metcalfe, Walter C., ed., *The Visitations of Northamptonshire, 1654 and 1618-19 with Northamptonshire Pedigrees.* London, Mitchell, & Hughes, 1887.

Watson, Rev. John, *Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey and Their Descendants to the Present Time.* 2 vols. Warrington, 1782. Contemporary leather.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Radicalism, Racism and Party Realignment: The Border States during Reconstruction. Edited by Richard O. Curry. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. Pp. xxvi, 331. $10.00.)

Throughout the Civil War and the bitter period of Reconstruction which followed, Marylanders noted much that was the same between their experiences and those in the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Delaware, and Tennessee. In 1866, one Maryland politician reminded his constituents that "the course followed in the border states is the same as that in Maryland." The Reconstruction scenario was indeed similar in the former slave-holding states which adhered to the Union. In every case registry laws, factions within the Union party, and the bitter struggle over Negro voting resulted in political realignment. The Democrats emerged during Reconstruction as the dominant party.

For many years historians have neglected this part of the Reconstruction story. While the historical spotlight has focused on such dramatic national events as the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, only the Confederate states have merited individual studies. Shuffled between the polarities of North and South, the border states have suffered a double neglect—a neglect which is all the more surprising when most scholars agree that the nineteenth century political party is best studied at the state level.

Richard Curry, the editor of *Radicalism, Racism and Party Realignment: The Border States during Reconstruction,* has helped to fill this gap in our historical knowledge. *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment,* a collection of essays by recognized authorities on Reconstruction in the border states, includes Tennessee, a state which seceded but was readmitted to the Union in 1866, and West Virginia, the state carved out of northwestern Virginia during the war. Chapters on the Freedman's Bureau, the Liberal Republican party of the early 1870's and Negro voting further illustrate the similarity of the Reconstruction experience in the border states.

The collective emphasis in *Radicalism, Racism and Party Realignment* is on internal politics within each state. Yet most of the ten contributors have managed to incorporate the neglected story of the freedmen into their narratives. Clearly the struggle over Negro voting, as William Gillette points out, reflects a need for votes rather than a commitment to equality. Most authors see the political tensions apparent in border state reconstruction politics as the heritage of pre-war politics rather than the result of the turbulence of the war years.

For students of American history, *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment* is an important addition to the literature of Reconstruction. Marylanders—whose reconstruction history has suffered monumental neglect—will particularly welcome Charles Wagandt's chapter on Maryland in the Post Civil War Era.

Goucher College JEAN BAKER

The Jewish Experience in America. Edited with introductions by Abraham Karp. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969. 5 vols. $49.50.)

In the absence of a good history of Jews in the United States this make-shift will have to suffice. Without discussing the question, "What constitutes the Jewish experience in America?" it takes as its province anything in which anyone Jewish has been concerned, whether religious or secular. Consisting of essays drawn from the *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society,* renamed the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* about a decade ago, the five volumes cover the period from 1654 to post World War II. Over eighty articles by more than sixty authors are represented. In general, papers written since 1945 are the best. The articles published earlier in the century are mostly by amateurs with an antiquarian interest, although many of them are entertaining.

Richard B. Morris' "Civil Liberties and the Jewish Tradition in Early America" is the star contribution of the collection. Morris shows what a trained scholar, a man who knows the period, can do with Jewish history when he turns his attention to it. He fits Jews into a general pattern of American history, rather than setting them apart, as a talented amateur might have done. The essay is a model of how minority history should be written.

Oscar Handlin's "American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century" is a significant study by a renowned scholar with intimate knowledge and complete grasp of the field. When is he going to produce the book on American Jewish history that only he can write? His potboiler of 1954 does not meet our needs.

John Higham's extremely valuable "Social Discrimination Against Jews in America, 1830-1930," in which he offers a novel interpretation-taking issue with Handlin, could have been written only by a learned and skillful scholar. If the society continues to attract more articles of this caliber, it will publish one of the great journals of the world.

It is interesting to note that New York, which is intimately

identified with Jews today, did not assume its position as paramount Jewish city until well into the nineteenth century. As late as 1820 Charleston, South Carolina had the largest community. In fact, many important events occurred far from the metropolis. The first ordained rabbi ever to serve in the United States, Abraham Rice, ministered to a Baltimore synagogue. Isaac Mayer Wise, leader of the reform movement, made his career in Cincinnati where he established the first successful rabbinical seminary. Simon Tuska, the first graduate of an American university to become a rabbi, and the first American (albeit naturalized) to study abroad for the rabbinate, served in Memphis.

Jews show themselves in these volumes to be like everyone else, despite what they or their enemies might wish to believe. In a country that required resourcefulness and where nothing was given away, but had to be wrested painfully, they were typically American in the things they did to stay alive. Everywhere, and like their neighbors, they scrounged and grubbed for a livelihood. In the South, some of them had slaves and supported secession. Southern rabbis, such as the Rev. Bernard Illoway of Baltimore, defended the "peculiar institution" and secession in sermons that read just like those of his Christian colleagues on the same subject. In the North, rabbis denounced slavery and secession, although there were no Jewish abolitionists of note. Jews also shared the general American tragedy of divided loaylties as Stanley L. Falk shows in his study of Major Alfred Mordecai, who resigned his commission rather than fight against his Southern family, and lived quietly in the North during the conflict. Marylanders will find Isaac Fein's "Baltimore Jews During the Civil War" of especial interest, the Jewish community there mirroring the divided loyalties of the troubled border state.

In a way, this collection is a sad commentary on American civilization, since so many of the older articles are apologetic in tone as if Jews have to justify their right to live in this country. Living as they did among people who by their heritage were inclined to hate them, Jews were always aware of the danger they faced. Even the articulate Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, leader of the reform movement during the second quarter of the twentieth century, as David Brody shows us in "American Jewry, the Refugees and Immigration Restriction (1932-1942)," felt that he had to weigh carefully what he said during the thirties, years of increasing anti-Semitism in the United States.

But most tragic of all are the effects of anti-Semitism on the Jews themselves. There is no article as such in these volumes, but the information is there, scattered in many essays. Jews heard so many

slanders, libels, and other vicious lies hurled against them, that some actually came to feel there must be a grain of truth in what they heard. They assumed that if Jews changed their ways, anti-Semitism would disappear, never understanding that since it was not based on truth, truth could not be used to overcome it. In the late nineteenth century, Americanized Jews of German origin [Esther Panitz, "The Polarity of American Jewish Attitudes towards Immigration (1870-1891)"] shared the prejudices of most Americans that Jews from Eastern Europe were inferior, whose entry into the United States should be restricted, by which they meant forbidden. For a brief period they even tried to dissociate themselves from their eastern brethren. In answer to the customary charges that Jews were parasites because they engaged in commerce and did not work with their hands the way honest people should, a number of misguided efforts were made to create agricultural communities in the West during the 1880s, at the very time when homesteaders fleeing economic ruin moved to cities. Naive philanthropists such as Baron de Hirsch and Jacob Schiff, whose ignorance matched their wealth, in their ill-advised attempts to aid their afflicted coreligionists, only doomed the unfortunates to suffering worse than they had known in the old country. There is also reason to feel that some of the inspiration for colonization was not entirely altruistic, since underlying was the desire to make Russian Jews less visible by scattering them across the Great Plains.

Some Jews even came to be ashamed of their heritage, and looked down on their native tongue as a "jargon" unworthy of serious consideration as a true language. How ironic then, that Jacob Gordin, a socialist school teacher who shared most of the biases of his Christian countrymen towards his people and their culture, even to their parasitism, because they were not agricultural workers, as if it were possible to be otherwise in Russia, had to earn his living in America as a Yiddish journalist and dramatist, becoming in the process, the outstanding figure of the Yiddish stage, whose name is preserved only as a playwright. He did not write Yiddish professionally until his arrival in New York in 1891. (At this writing, Ida Kaminska and her company are touring in his *Mirele Efros.*)

How different was Abraham Cahan as portrayed by Moses Rischin in one of the most interesting articles. He towers as a figure of civilized good sense. Cahan never felt defensive about his Jewishness, his language, or his community. A man who could write English "without an accent," although he always spoke with a light one, he became the leading Yiddish journalist as editor of the *Forward,* which in its day had the largest circulation of any Yiddish-language newspaper in the world.

These five volumes show how much has been accomplished in the study of Jews in America, and how much remains to be done. Jewish communities outside of New York need to be studied more than they have been. A study of immigrant politics in Chicago, for example, to parallel Arthur Goren's excellent paper on the Lower East Side, 1908-1910 and other monographic studies would tell us much of acculturation and problems of Americanization. In particular, more studies are needed on cultural and intellectual history. Russian Jews were the only immigrant group which experienced a cultural flowering in America. The Yiddish stage and Yiddish literature were to a great extent developed in New York rather than in Europe. Once freed from the restrictions of an oppressive society, Jews began to create feverishly in their own language. If Jacob Gordin's works are not so highly regarded now, they were admired in their own time by non-Jewish critics who wrote that the Yiddish theater in New York rivalled the English-language uptown drama in quality. The musical scores of Yiddish operettas and musical comedies such as *Bar Kochba* and *Shulamis* (please, not *Shulamith*), might be corny today, but how many shows of pre-1914 vintage were better?

The most elusive art-form, Yiddish literature, the works of Sholem Asch, I. J. Singer, and Isaac Bashevis Singer, whose major works were written while on the staff of Abe Cahan's *Forward* still remain to be studied seriously. In the sense that the novels of these men were written in America, they are American literature, and perhaps should be thought of as such, since their composition in Europe is inconceivable.

The future of Jewish history in America looks bright, taking these volumes as an augury of what is to come, as more trained historians turn their attention to this fascinating and difficult subject, one of the few virgin fields left, requiring as it does fluency in Yiddish and probably Hebrew and Russian as well.

Kent State University HAROLD SCHWARTZ

Whig-Loyalism: An Aspect of Political Ideology in the American Revolutionary Era. By William Allen Benton. (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. Pp. 231. $8.00.)

One of several recent additions to the literature of Loyalism in the American Revolution is William Allen Benton's *Whig-Loyalism.* Actually Benton claims not to be concerned with Tories at all, if by that term is meant such men as Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts or Joseph Galloway of Penn-

sylvania who long before the Declaration of Independence deplored the drift of events in the colonies. Rather, he is interested in a relatively small group of individuals who generally supported and even led the opposition to British attempts to centralize the Empire in the 1760's and 1770's, but who lapsed into neutralism or outright Toryism when it became plain that the struggle had changed from a defense of constitutional rights to one for political independence. In an effort to explain this dramatic transition, Benton assesses the careers of nine of these political half-breeds, or Whig-Loyalists as he calls them. The nine are: William Johnson of Connecticut, William Smith and Peter Van Schaak of New York, Andrew Allen of Pennsylvania, Robert Alexander and Daniel Dulany of Maryland, Benjamin Church and Daniel Leonard of Massachusetts, and William Byrd III of Virginia.

The virtue of *Whig-Loyalism* is that it captures some of the individual human tragedy involved in the Revolution. We are reminded that Americans fought with fellow Americans as well as the British to win independence. Benton's nine men are all courageous figures who upheld the tradition of dissent in the face of overwhelming pressures to conform. For their bravery they lost their high standing in society, their private fortunes, and, in some cases, the right to remain in America. But it would seem Benton fails in his larger objective of proving that any such group as the Whig-Loyalists ever really existed. His own evidence seems to show each of the nine switched allegiances for reasons that were intensely personal and local. Church and Leonard, for example, needed money and accepted British gold, while William Byrd III had sons serving in the British army and had long been a conservative member of the Virginia Council. When Benton says that these men ceased being Patriots upon being confronted with the issue of independence and attendant manifestations of social upheaval, he is simply stating a circumstance generally applicable to many thousands of Tories, whom he would not include among the ranks of the Whig-Loyalists. Independence was the principal fork in the road separating Patriot from Tory. But it was not the only one; over each successive crisis after 1765 more and more Americans became disenchanted with the course of events. Benton's Whig-Loyalists are in reality just Loyalists, hardly distinguishable from many others who felt independence was wrong.

Whig-Loyalism is unsatisfactory on another count. The organization is topical and the reader is in constant confusion trying to follow nine divergent careers through each chapter. The topical arrangement also leads to much redundancy as the author struggles to bring each man's activities up to date. While not without merit,

Whig-Loyalism is not a major contribution. Its insights are limited and it adds but slightly to our knowledge of the Loyalists. Scholars and general readers alike will benefit far more by turning to another recently published volume on this subject, Wallace Brown's excellent study *The Good Americans.*

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee FRANK A. CASSELL

American and British Genealogy and Heraldry. By P. William Filby. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1970. Pp. xxii, 184, indexed. $10.00.)

Genealogical researchers all over the country will find Mr. Filby's book one of the most useful they can have in their personal collections.

The book is an annotated bibliography of the most helpful genealogical and heraldic reference works in America and Great Britain. Mr. Filby consulted genealogists, state archivists, and librarians for names of books they felt should be included. These titles were then arranged under the headings General Reference (manuals and aids, colonial and pre-colonial lists, immigration, military lists, religious and ethnic groups); Areas (i.e., of the United States, such as New England, the South, etc.); Individual States; Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, British Island Areas; and Heraldry. After many entries are comments on the general usefulness, availability, or reliability of the book.

Family histories and general county histories have not been included in the book. The cut-off date for listing new books was 31 December 1968. No doubt some researchers will have in mind a book they think should have been included; nevertheless, Mr. Filby's book succeeds admirably in its stated purposes: for use by the librarian as a reference manual to show readers the sources available; for use by librarians as a reference aid; for use by researchers—both beginning and experienced—in their work; and for use as a buying guide by individuals, libraries, and societies that are building a collection of genealogical and heraldic reference books.

The book is unreservedly recommended for all genealogists, genealogical societies, and libraries with genealogical or local history collections.

Maryland Genealogical Society ROBERT W. BARNES

Richard Henry Lee: Statesman of the Revolution. By Oliver Perry Chitwood. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1967. Pp. xiv, 238. $7.00.)

Until now Richard Henry Lee has appeared in the monographic literature of the revolutionary period much like an actor whose role is important but whose voice alone the audience hears, never seeing the form of the man. Happily, Professor Chitwood's recent biography brings Lee closer to stage center. That he is unable to turn a full light on Lee is due to the absence of much material.

Lee's place in American history depends not so much on the brilliance of his mind, his intuitive insights into events and the behavior of men, as it does on his record of public service. From 1758 until 1792 he was almost continually in elective office, serving as burgess from Westmoreland County, member of the Continental Congresses and senator from Virginia. In each capacity he regularly undertook the burdens of committee work, preparing dozens of state papers which contributed significantly to the drift toward revolution, toward independence and helped shape the institutions and policies of the early Republic. Such work, while influential in legislative bodies, is customarily hidden from the public view or overshadowed by the strutting orators and clever political leaders who monopolize our history. Hence, it is easy to conclude, though unfair in Lee's case, that the committeeman is a brainless drudge able to synthesize the sentiments of the legislators but incapable of independent thought. Lee's *Letters from the Federal Farmer* (1787), however, must dispel this notion. Although they did not constitute original thinking, nonetheless they were sufficiently masterful arugments against the Constitution to bring down the wrath of George Washington. So dangerous did Washington consider the *Letters* that he attributed George Mason's anti-federalism to their pernicious influence.

Despite Lee's professed adherence to many libertarian ideas he evidenced certain inconsistencies that cast suspicion on his whole hearted dedication to them. There was, for example, the brief movement he led in the House of Burgesses to halt the slave trade (1759) but which did not deter him from offering to serve as his brother's factor for the sale and purchase of slaves. There was too his strange effort on behalf of a bill introduced by Patrick Henry in the House of Delegates in 1784 to levy a tax "for the support of the Christian religion or some Christian church." While it does not seem odd to find John Marshall and Washington favoring it (and Madison opposed), Lee shared few political principles in common with them. He defended his stand, as Chitwood explains, "on the contention that it is the function of the state to promote

morality; and since religion is the basis of morality, government should encourage religion by providing for its financial support."

Like his *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South,* Chitwood's recent study is another pioneering work, the first full length biography since 1825. Placing emphasis on Lee's life rather than his times, the author has used the limited research materials skillfully and defined the Virginian's place among the founding fathers.

St. Norbert College RICHARD A. GLEISSNER

William Tatham and the Culture of Tobacco. By G. Melvin Herndon (Coral Gables, Florida; University of Miami Press, 1969. Pp. 506. $10.00.)

In 1800, William Tatham's essay on the culture and marketing of tobacco was first published in London. He had hoped that it would create a demand for a general history of tobacco in Europe, a hope that was unrealized.

Tatham had come to the Virginia colony in 1769 to serve as a clerk with an American tobacco company. Upon its failure he tried unsuccessfully to set himself up in the tobacco trade. In the years that followed, he had a most versatile life: serving with colonial and State militia; acquiring a legal background and experience; becoming involved in several back country ventures, gathering information as he went. Subsequently, he collected topographical information on the southern and western frontiers for the United States War Department. This he wanted to expand into a general survey of America. His later years were somewhat shrouded with an atmosphere of intrigue, mystery, and frustration that took him into interior sections of the United States, Spain, London, and the service again of the Federal Goverment. Tatham's unhappy search for success ended with his suicide in 1819.

Tatham knew a number of the prominent men who were key figures in agricultural development. He presented the various steps from the preparation of the soil to gathering, curing, selling, and processing the crop in a clear straightforward manner. Although his essay attracted little attention at the time it was published, a century later it became a source for those writing on agricultural history and the story of tobacco. Of course, it has long been out of print.

G. Melvin Herndon, who has previously written articles and bulletins on tobacco, makes a further contribution in the republication of Tatham's essay. The second part of the new issue brings the study up to date. Herndon discusses "the book" and its re-

ception, Tatham's versatile life, and the changes in tobacco culture since 1800.

Tatham's *Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco* came at a time when tobacco production was moving westward or becoming more concentrated in specific areas in the older States. As it moved to European markets it no longer benefitted as a commodity protected under the British mercantile system.

Herndon's book comes when tobacco production is becoming mechanized, changing patterns of life in some areas. Moreover, the future of tobacco as a marketable commodity is clouded. Again, American tobacco competes on the world markets with that produced in countries protected by trade associations.

Nonetheless, the book should prove a valuable addition in the ever expanding network of library and educational facilities. The tobacco specialist, the historian, or other writer will have a better understanding of this segment of the agricultural sector after using this study.

U.S. Department of Agriculture VIVIAN WISER

Deputyes & Libertyes: The Origins of Representative Government in Colonial America. By Michael Kammen. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. Pp. ix, 212. $6.95.)

Professor Michael Kammen asserts that there is no comprehensive and cohesive analysis of the seventeenth century origins of representative government in British North America. While admitting that such giants in the field as C. M. Andrews and H. L. Osgood touched upon the subject at many points, neither offered "an integrated presentation" of the origins of representative government. With his *Deputyes & Libertyes* Kammen has taken the first step in filling this gap.

Deputyes & Libertyes consists of an introductory essay and a selection of documents which the author calls "a primer in Anglo-colonial constitutional history." In the first part "Prolegomenon: An Interpretive Inquiry" Kammen provides some preliminary observations on the seventeenth-century origins of representative government through a brief historiographical survey, a chronological survey of the actual origins of representative government in the seventeenth-century colonies, and a summary examination of patterns, trends, motives and impulses in the first century of American colonization.

The introductory essay is too brief (less than seventy pages) for

such an ambitious undertaking. Obviously much must be omitted. Maryland, for example, is treated in a very cursory fashion. Considered with the New England colonies founded at about the same time, Maryland's development in the seventeenth century is covered in a mere paragraph. Still, it is significant that, for all the obvious differences between Papist Maryland and Puritan New England, Kammen concludes that in broad terms there were many similarities in the development of representative government.

Kammen's purpose in *Deputyes & Libertyes* was of course not to write the definitive history of any particular colony; rather, relying heavily on secondary works, he sought meaningful conclusions about the origins of representative government in British North America. The origins, Kammen suggests, cannot be attributed simply to the charters and structures of commercial corporations. Indeed, this is only one of the ten reasons, not all equally applicable, which Kammen found in his search for the origins of representative government.

Kammen's most significant contribution is not in the answers he has provided (many are only tentatively asserted) but in the many questions raised (pp. 10-11). This slim but provocative volume should stimulate, and serve as the basis for, further investigations.

Marquette University JOHN D. KRUGLER

Empire and Interest. The American Colonies and the Politics of Mercantilism. By Michael Kammen. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970. Pp. x, 186. Cloth $4.95, paper $2.95.)

Following a decade of research in English and American manuscript materials, as well as the historiographical literature of the period, Professor Kammen of Cornell University has presented three successive monographs on different aspects of the Anglo-American empire: *A Rope of Sand, the Colonial Agents, British Politics and the American Revolution (1968), Deputyes & Libertyes, the Origins of Representative Government in Colonial America (1969),* and now *Empire and Interest.* In his most recent effort, self-styled as a "selective and interpretative" essay, he hopes to suggest a new approach "to the dynamics . . . of English society, public life, and the Empire in these years," and adds that his objective has been "to explore and explain the political economy of an empire in terms of its complex and diverse social groups."

Kammen briefly outlines his methodology in chapter one while analysing the "role of interests" in the seventeenth century. He concludes: "Essentially, it was the private economic groups seeking to determine state and imperial policies that shaped mercantilism." While he depicts the period of 1660-1696 as one of "Interests in Equilibrium," he notes that Parliament's triumph in 1688 sharpened the conflict among the growing and diverse elements within the empire. Thus, "William Penn and Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, competed in the Old World for land and power in the New." England's changing political milieu led to critical erosions after 1730 in what Kammen describes as the "uneasy standoff" between government and private interests. The most "visible and vigorous" interest groups, such as the Irish Lobby and the West India Committee, enjoyed continued success in contrast to the "fairly frail" influence of American interests, such as the Baltimore Company founded by Dulany, Tasker and the Carrolls. During England's remarkable economic expansion which followed the peace of 1748, Parliament's regulatory power was subjected increasingly to the politics of interest and instability. Kammen argues that the *ad hoc* political coalitions of the party system were frequently formed around the most powerful trading groups after 1748. In the closing chapters, Kammen stresses the isolation and impotence of American interests in the fierce political competition of the 1760's and 1770's, and the imperial crisis which resulted.

Lucidly written and carefully argued, *Empire and Interest* generally succeeds as a "selective and interpretative" essay, yet it is rather uneven in the audience it seeks. Kammen's annotated bibliography and much of his essay will prove helpful and stimulating to the undergraduate student and those laymen who read history as avocation; but in several instances, such as his references to Namerian methodology, Kammen admittedly presumes a sophisticated knowledge this audience lacks. Scholars, on the other hand, might find his summary analysis questionable in parts, including the role he attributes to the Stuart dynasty in the seventeenth century empire. Others might feel that the changing American mercantile attitudes, as well as the colonial political structure, would have to be more fully developed and integrated if Mr. Kammen was to succeed in his own stated objective. Perhaps the writer to the *Gentleman's Magazine,* cited in the essay, explains the problem best: "to recite the different struggles between these contending interests would require a volume." Students and scholars alike will hope that Professor Kammen provides that volume himself in the future.

Georgetown University MICHAEL F. FOLEY

Early Stationary Steam Engines in America: A Study in the Migration of a Technology. By Carroll W. Pursell, Jr. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. Pp. viii, 152. Introduction, bibliography, illustrations, charts, and index. $6.75.)

This short book with a most unimaginative title traces the introduction and development in the antebellum United States of those steam engines neither on steamboats nor railroads. Its scope is as narrow as its title suggests, for it has comparatively little to say about how this new mode of power transformed both the geography and techniques of American industry. But it does present in mechanical detail the story of how steam engines came to be used, manufactured, and employed in the United States.

There was no real demand for steam engines here until after the Revolution, and at first John Fitch and others tried to apply them to the pressing transportation needs. The paucity of American mechanical capabilities spelled defeat for most of these early experiments, but despite the failures many recognized the potentialities of stationary steam engines. Most of the early experimenters and machinists were English, but they soon trained an enterprising corps of American mechanics. Inventor-manufacturers like Oliver Evans in short time developed respectable engine works in the United States. By 1800 Philadelphia and New York City were emerging as major centers of steam technology, and although American technology lagged behind English for several decades, efficient engines for practically every purpose could shortly be procured at home. The inventive local manufacturers constantly sought improvements in their engine designs, and their efforts brought steady success.

Marylanders will appreciate the extensive coverage of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who pioneered the profession of consulting engineer and perhaps did more than any other individual to develop steam technology in America. Due to his enthusiasm and promotional zeal, the entrepreneural efforts of numerous mechanics, the demands placed on American manufacturing by the War of 1812, and the growing needs of cities in the Midwest and South where water-power was limited, steam engines rapidly spread across the nation. Pittsburgh, Louisville, and Charleston became additional leaders as steam engines found application in ironworks, sawmills, ricemills, and sugarmills.

Engine-making had become a standard domestic skill by the 1830's. Almost every town had its own mechanics who could build and repair stationary steam engines. And the author pauses to

commemorate a huge number of these engine makers, their cooperative efforts, their shops, and the engines they built.

At the very end Professor Pursell hints at how steam engines removed the geographic limitations to industrial production once posed by the location of waterpower sites. Engine technology spurred the metals trade, stimulated iron production, and prepared the way for industrial America. But this exciting and important theme is too often hidden by the dull prose and the emphasis on builders and engines.

Towson State College JOHN B. BOLES

Reconstruction in Retrospect: Views from the Turn of the Century. Edited by Richard N. Current. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. Pp. xxii, 165. $6.50.)

In 1901 the *Atlantic Monthly* published a series of ambitious articles designed to re-explore the major issues of Reconstruction for the general public. Ten commentators—including Woodrow Wilson, William A. Dunning, William Garrott Brown, and Bliss Perry—discussed a wide variety of themes, ranging from constitutional problems to the Ku Klux Klan and the enduring achievements of the Freedmen's Bureau. There was an air of finality about much of their writing. Twenty-five years had elapsed since the last Federal troops marched out of the South, and in typical American fashion, the fierce struggles of the previous generation had already become a matter of "history," interesting to academics and novelists but of little relevance to a progressive twentieth century. Almost all of the *Atlantic's* contributors adopted a stance of moderation and detachment well suited to a collective effort to banish forever a violent segment of the national past.

Even the assignment of topics mirrored a self-conscious effort on the part of editor Bliss Perry to be fair and impartial. Five subjects went to Northerners, and five to Southerners. The group was further divided along professional lines: three historians, three politicians, four journalists. They generally shared the racial preconceptions of their time, and most agreed that the attempt to confer suffrage upon the Southern Negro had been premature and unwise. But they carried out their inquiries as honestly as they could, and many of their insights remain valid and usable today.

Richard N. Current has selected eight essays—the cream of the crop—for republication, and has supplied a helpful introduction that identifies the authors and relates their work to current revisionist trends. Modern readers will find these turn-of-the-century

appraisals well worth their attention, especially ex-Governor Daniel Chamberlain's eyewitness account of political corruption in South Carolina, and W. E. B. Du Bois' balanced and persuasive analysis of the merits of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Indeed, the more one compares these essays with recent revisionist efforts—such as the pieces in Kenneth Stampp and Leon Litwack's *Reconstruction* (1969)—the more impressive appears the earlier accomplishment. While today we have largely freed ourselves from the racial bias that inhibited earlier writers, we continue to ask the same questions they asked. Our debates still take place within a conceptual framework established in the nineteenth century, and we fail to broaden that framework to include even such obvious factors as: a comparative analysis of state constitutions during Reconstruction, or the administration of justice in state and federal courts. Still less have we utilized effectively the insights of related disciplines, such as sociology and psychology, to examine for the first time such major problems as: the changing role of elite groups in Southern society; the impact of the news media upon public opinion; or the types of organizations, both public and private, that existed in the postwar decade to crystallize group sentiments and channel information to various strata of the population. A single wide-ranging study of a local community in transition—along the lines, say, of Earl Fornell's fine work on antebellum Galveston, Texas—would do more to explain the social turmoil of Reconstruction than a score of further inquiries into the machinations of state legislatures or the fitness of freedmen for the vote. It is to be hoped that a new generation of historians will transcend revisionist thinking, and turn at last to the more fundamental task of constructing, from the humblest fragments of everyday life, a fresh portrait of Southern society in the post-Appomattox years.

The Catholic University of America MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD

Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860. By Harold S. Schultz. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. Pp. x, 259. Maps, tables, bibliography, index. $15.00.)

This is another Da Capo Press Reprint Edition in their series *The American Scene.* This work, originally published by the Duke University Press in 1950, was based on a comprehensive study of personal papers, newspapers, journals of state conventions and proceedings of local meetings, and the standard secondary sources of Chauncey S. Boucher, Philip M. Hamer, Lillian Kibler, William A. Schaper, John G. Van Deusen, and Laura White. There is a good

opening chapter which summarizes the maneuverings at the many meetings of South Carolinians in the period 1850 through 1852. After that Schultz's story is mainly of South Carolina reactions to national events. The theme that South Carolina was consciously reacting to each plan and action of the national anti-slavery movement is still timely since the Negro question looms largest in the historiography of the day.

Although the story is told against the backdrop of James L. Orr battling his opponents (the South Carolina National Democrats versus the Secessionists), this internal story is perhaps the weakest portion of the book. A greater knowledge of the regional, county, and city groupings must be gained before new advances can be made. It is a pity that William A. Foran's study of James L. Orr never came to the point of publication. In my own *History of Georgetown County, South Carolina* (published July 1970) I have described a powerful group of rice planters who worked together constantly during the 1850's for secession. Such information would not undermine the author's theme; in fact, it would strengthen the base on which it is erected. Hopefully, reprinting the book will push this sort of local analysis further. Stephen A. Channing's forthcoming "Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina, 1859-1860" will undoubtedly stir the thoughts of scholars still further.

University of South Carolina GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland By Act of the Legislature 1634-1854. By Mary Keysor Meyer. (From the Author, Pasadena, Md., 1970. Pp. vii, 143. $7.50.)

It is always a pleasure for genealogists to have a new volume of source materials published to assist them in their research, and Mrs. Meyer's book deals with two areas that few researchers have tackled: cases of divorce, and instances where people have had their names changed by acts of the state legislature.

In compiling her book, the author painstakingly combed the published *Laws of Maryland* from the establishment of the Province to the year 1854. In the Introduction, she traces the history of divorce cases and divorce legislation in England and in Maryland, and she gives a description of the various types of divorces that could be granted by the legislature.

Many times the reasons for the divorce being granted are included in the entry in the book. Desertion by either party was grounds for divorce, as was adultery when committed by the wife. In several instances women who bore mulatto children were not

only divorced but they and their children were condemned to servitude and sold. In other cases, the husband had evidently become deranged and a divorce was granted to the wife.

Names were often changed to comply with a bequest in a will, but there are several instances of illegitimate children having their names changed from that of their mother to their natural father. One instance is given of a man—born in Sweden—who changed his name, and that of his children, from an English surname to a Swedish surname.

The body of the book is an alphabetical, cross-referenced listing of all such cases found by the compiler. It is highly recommended for all Maryland libraries, and for genealogists researching Maryland families.

Maryland Genealogical Society ROBERT W. BARNES

Ellicott City, Maryland: Mill Town, U.S.A. By Celia M. Holland. (University Park, Maryland: The Author (or Maryland Historical Society), 1970. Pp. xi, 273. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. $10.50.)

This history of a small Maryland mill town, "the improbable seat of Howard County," is a labor of love, the product of four years of interview and research, undertaken in an effort to help preserve the hilly and once picturesque old town and reverse its decline. The author has for several years been writing articles for local newspapers on historic houses and other historic buildings of Howard County. She was urged to develop these into a history of the county, but after considering it she decided that Ellicott City deserved a book on its own. This work, privately published in a limited edition of 500 copies and now reprinted, is the result; the history of Howard County is still to come.

Students of the history of American local industry, however, should know that Mrs. Holland's book, despite its subtitle, is not an industrial, economic, commercial, or even company history. It is, instead, in the author's words, "A historic tour of Maryland's unique 18th century mill town, and a partial account of the lives of its outstanding inhabitants both past and present."

She has organized her material in chapters mostly concerned with houses and some churches and other public buildings and with the people who lived or worked in them or still do. She includes of course the first terminal of the B. & O. Railroad, famous among railroad history enthusiasts everywhere. Among other public buildings treated are the Patapsco Female Institute, a stately Greek Re-

vival edifice, now decayed, but with a band of devoted protectors organized in 1966 to preserve and restore it, and the county courthouse, built like so many old Ellicott City structures of the somber native granite.

Among the houses are Castle Angelo, a Gothic extravagance to which the B. & O. once ran excursion trains; Lilburn, with its unhappy ghost; and Linwood, now a school for disturbed children. In describing these houses, Mrs. Holland also writes of the families that built and lived in them. Consequently, although this is not a genealogical work, there is considerable material of genealogical interest on the Brown, Clark, Ellicott, Mayfield, Talbot, Tyson, Warfield, and other families.

This book is for anyone who appreciates Ellicott City, for Howard County schools, libraries, and local historians, and for Maryland libraries.

Savage, Howard County, Maryland VERA RUTH FILBY

American Index Library. Maryland: Indexes to the County Wills of Maryland. Edited by Joan Hume and with a foreword by Morris L. Radoff. (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1970. 4 vols. $10.00 each.)

The first four volumes to be published in this ambitious series are: (1) Alleghany County, 1784-1960; (2) St. Mary's County, 1622-1960, and Somerset County, 1664-1955; (3) Harford County, 1774-1960, and Garrett County, 1872-1960; (4) Howard County, 1840-1960, and Kent County, 1674-1960. It is important to note that these Maryland indexes of wills neither continue nor supersede Magruder's Wills. These refer to the will copies at the courthouses, and not at the Hall of Records. Moreover they cover the whole period from the beginning of each county until the present decade, and since they are arranged under each county and not in one record for Maryland, the gain is obvious to the researcher. From these a most interesting study of surnames could be made; the frequent occurrence of certain names in one county and nowhere else may be well known to those working on particular family genealogies, but it is not generally known. It is a pity that not all the counties have the names in alphabetical order; perhaps this is a little point, but the task of alphabetization is so small that it should be done.

Maryland Historical Society P. W. FILBY

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

American Index Library. Maryland: *Index to the Wills of: St. Mary's County, 1662-1960; Somerset County, 1664-1955. Garrett County, 1872-1960; Harford County, 1774-1960. Allegany County, 1784-1960.* Ed. by J. Hume. 3 vols. Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1970.

Baltimore County 1783 Maryland Tax List. Philadelphia: Rhistoric Publications, 1970. Pp. 326.

Blackman, Emily C. *History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.* repr. Montrose: Under Sponsorship of Susquehanna County Historical Society and Free Library Association. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1970. Pp. x, 685.

Boney, F. N. *John Letcher of Virginia: The Story of Virginia's Civil War Governor.* Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1966. Pp. 319.

Carroll, E. Malcolm. *Origins of the Whig Party.* repr. New York: Da Capo Press. 1970. Pp. viii, 260.

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Chase, Samuel. *Trial of Samuel Chase.* repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 2 vols. 1970.

Cooper, Elliott T. *A Documentary History of the Union Trust Company of Maryland and Its Predecessor Institutions: Bank of Baltimore and The National Bank of Baltimore, 1795-1969.* Baltimore: Union Trust Company of Maryland, 1970. Pp. v, 281.

Espenshade, A. Howry. *Pennsylvania Place Names.* repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970. Pp. 375.

Featherstonhaugh, George W. *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay Sotor.* repr. St. Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 2 vols. 1970.

Gibson, R. Hammond. *Eastern Shore: Chips and Shavings.* Baltimore: Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum. 1970. Pp. unnumbered.

Goodman, Paul and Frank Otto Gatell. *The American Colonial Experience: An Essay in National Origins.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970. Pp. 180.

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Harris, Seymour E., ed. *The Economics of Harvard.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970. Pp. xix, 519.

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Jones, E. Alfred. *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims.* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969. Pp. xxiv, 341.

Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution. Trans. by William L. Stone. repr. New York: Da Capo Press. 1970. Pp. vii, 258 + index.

List of Pensioners on the Roll, January 1, 1883. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970. 5 vols.

Massey, George Valentine, II. *The Mitchells and Days of Philadelphia, with their Kin: Dr. S. Weir Mitchell and H. M. Langdon (Mitchell) and K. M. Day.* Atlantic City: The Author, 1968. Pp. 302.

Massicotte, E. Z. and Roy, R. *Armorial du Canada Francais.* repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970. 2 vols. in 1. Pp. 303.

MacLysaght, Edward. *The Surnames of Ireland.* New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969. Pp. 252.

Pine, L. G. *Prince of Wales.* Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1970. Pp. 208.

Pine, L. G. *The Story of Titles.* Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1970. Pp. 176.

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Rejected or Suspended Applications for Revolutionary War Pensions. repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969. Pp. 462.

Salley, A. S., Jr. *The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina.* repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1969. Pp. viii, 572.

Stillwell, John E. *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany: Data relating to the Settlement and Settlers of New York and New Jersey.* repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970. 5 vols.

Williams, Alexander W. *A Social History of the Greater Boston Clubs.* Massachusetts: Barre Publishing Co. 1970. Pp. 192.

Wulfeck, Dorothy F. *Wilcoxson and Allied Families.* Naugatuck, 1958. Pp. iii, + 505.

NOTES AND QUERIES

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INFORMATION NEEDED

Emil Kett, Baltimore painter, b. Nuremberg, 1828, d. Baltimore, 1898. Sisters: Mrs. Marie Bitter, Mrs. Margaret Schaefer, and Mrs. Babetta Wilkins. Active, 1805-98, New York to Virginia. Some signed work. Send information of Dr. Lloyd D. Miller, 7 Greenbrier Road, Towson, Maryland 21204.

Information needed on tracing the English birthplace and date of birth of Lawrence Richardson who settled on the Severn River, Anne Arundel County in July, 1649. He received land for transporting himself and his wife, Sarah, and his servants. For such information $100.00 will be paid.

Beale Howard Richardson, IV
1041 Robert Street
New Orleans, La., 70115

ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER FAMILY PAPERS

The Maryland Historical Society announces the publication of the Robert Goodloe Harper Family Papers, 1747-1910. The collection includes the personal and family papers of Robert Goodloe Harper (1765-1825), Federalist congressman from South Carolina, Maryland attorney, and leader in the colonization of free Negroes in Liberia, and Senator from Maryland in 1816. Included among

the papers is extensive correspondence from Philadelphia editor and publisher Robert Walsh, Jr., British diplomat Sir George Henry Rose, and from Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence from Maryland and Harper's father-in-law. Highlights of the collection include papers of the Baltimore Iron Works, 1747-1749, correspondence and speeches concerning Harper's stand during the War of 1812, and papers relating to the impact of that war on the Federalist Party in Maryland, letters to Senator Richard Stockton of New Jersey on the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States in 1816, letters from Harper's son in Paris describing his education there from 1817 to 1821 and from Harvard from 1821-1823. Included also are several of Harper's speeches in draft. There is also an interesting file of letters between author, politician and Cabinet member John Pendleton Kennedy and his close friend, Baltimore attorney Josias Pennington. These letters begin in the mid-1820's and continue through 1869. The file is particularly rich in letters from Kennedy while in Europe.

A pamphlet describing the publication in detail will be available from the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. There are five reels and prices will be announced later.

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Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1862). Steel engraving from *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* 1887.
Maryland Historical Society

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The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society. Avril J. M. Pedley, comp. 1968 . . . . . $15.00

A History of the University of Maryland. By George H. Callcott. Illustrated. 1966 . . . . . $ 7.50

Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By J. Reaney Kelly. Illustrated. 1963 . . . . . $ 5.50

The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . . $ 4.00

History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . . $ 7.50

From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. By Julia A. Drake and J. R. Orndorff. Orndorff Genealogy. Illustrated. 1938 . . . . . $ 5.00

Chesapeake Bay Sailing Craft. By M. V. Brewington. Illustrated pamphlet . . . . . $ .50

Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 $10.00

The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962 . . . . . $10.00

The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland) By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959 . . . . $ 2.00

Lucas Genealogy. Annabelle Kemp, comp. 1964 . . . . . $12.50

The Extinct Medical Schools of Baltimore, Maryland. By Harold J. Abrahams, Illustrated, 1969 . . . . . $10.00

Quakerism on the Eastern Shore. By Kenneth Carroll. Illustrated. 1970 . . . . . $12.50

World War II

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, *Industry and Agriculture,* 1951; Vol. IV, *Gold Star Honor Roll,* 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp. . . . . each $ 3.25

History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953 . . . . . $ 5.00

Maryland in World War II—Register of Service Personnel, 5 vols. . . . . each $20.00

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